



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND  
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING  
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

# Structural Inequalities Between Model C and Rural Schools

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## The Case of Luphisi in Mbombela

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

## **DECLARATION**

I, Andile Nyundu, declare that this research is my own, unaided work submitted for Master of Science in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

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Signature

February 2016

## **DEDICATION**

To my 'uneducated' father who through hard work, determination and love, gave his children the best education available.

Papa na Mama your children are like trees planted along the riverbank, bearing fruit each season. Their leaves never wither, and they prosper in all they do...because you are the riverbank.

From the bottom of my heart, thank you for everything.

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For I know the plans I have for you," says the LORD. "They are plans for good and not for disaster, to give you a future and a hope.

– Jeremiah 29:11

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  - Mr Ngomane and Mr Myanga, Circuit Managers of Education in Luphisi.
  - Anonymous Member of Mayoral Committee – under Humans Settlements, Urban and Rural Development.
  - Ms Nkosi, Member of Ward Committee.
  - Mr Ndlovu, Principal of Sdungeni Secondary School.
  - Learners of Sdungeni Secondary School.

## Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
LIST OF MAPS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
CHAPTER ONE .....	1
INTRODUCING THE MOTHER OF ALL SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES IN SCHOOLS' DISTRIBUTION IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA.....	1
1.1 Overview: Setting the Scene .....	1
1.2 Presenting the Problem Statement.....	5
1.2.1 Research Questions and Purpose of the Study.....	7
1.3 Rationale of Study.....	7
1.4 Research Methods.....	8
1.4.1 Qualitative Method of Analysis: Qualifying the Qualitative Method of Enquiry.....	8
a) Multiple Methods of Enquiry .....	9
1.4.2 Collection of Relevant Data .....	10
a) Primary Sources .....	10
b) Secondary Sources .....	10
c) Categorising and Presentation of Data .....	10
d) Case Study: Mbombela's Luphisi as an encapsulation of Spatial Education Inequalities.....	11
1.4.3 Interviews.....	13
1.4.4 Observations .....	14
1.4.5 Photography.....	15
1.5 Limitations of the Study .....	15
1.5.1 Delimitation in Relation to Time .....	16

1.5.2 Delimitation in Relation to Space .....	16
1.6 Ethical Considerations .....	17
1.7 Outline of Chapters.....	18
 CHAPTER TWO.....	19
CAN WE TALK ABOUT THE POLITICS OF STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION? .....	19
2.1 Introduction .....	19
2.2 Conceptual Framework Diagram.....	19
2.3 Understanding the principal logic informing Spatial Inequalities and Uneven (National) Development: The Concept of ‘Political Economy’ .....	21
2.4 Economic Development doesn’t mean anything if it leaves people out... ..	23
2.5 Social Stratification / Social Status .....	24
2.6 Inequality.....	26
2.6.1 Educational Inequality .....	26
2.6.2 Structural Inequality in Spatial Inequality.....	27
2.7 Schools Legitimate the Myth that Everyone Has an Equal Chance.....	29
2.7.1 School Fees Remains a Significant Indicator of Quality .....	31
2.7.2 Schools Fees Remains Spatially Defined .....	32
2.7.3 Inequality in the Classroom .....	32
2.8 Theoretical Perspectives for the Inequalities.....	34
2.8.1 Sociological Perspectives on Education Inequality .....	34
a) Inequalities in the Distribution of Schools and Access to Quality Education .....	34
b) Functionalist Theory .....	40
2.9 Concluding Remarks .....	43
 CHAPTER THREE.....	45
STRUCTURAL EDUCATIONAL EQUALITIES IN MPUMALANGA: LESSONS FROM MBOMBELA’S LUPHISI.....	45
3.1 Introduction .....	45

3.2 Introducing Mpumalanga: A Sneak Peek into the Controversies related to Education in the Province relative to South Africa - Corruption.....	45
3.3 An Over-Simplified Trajectory of Education in South Africa .....	50
3.4 Mbombela in the Context of Mpumalanga: Locality, Economy & Characteristics.....	54
3.4.1 Introducing Mbombela and Mpumalanga – Geographic Location and Characteristics .....	54
3.5 Luphisi in the Context of Mbombela .....	56
3.5.1 Introducing Luphisi within Mbombela – Geographic Location and Characteristics .....	56
3.5.2 Dualisms in Spatial and Structural Configurations between Rural Luphisi and Mbombela	59
3.5.3 ‘Getting by’: Livelihood Strategies in Luphisi, Interdependencies with Mbombela .....	60
3.5.4 Service Delivery Dynamics and Social Conditions in Luphisi.....	62
3.5.5 Structural Educational Inequalities in Mbombela: A Juxtaposition of Educational Facilities in Luphisi and Nelspruit .....	66
3.6 Conclusion.....	72
 CHAPTER FOUR.....	 73
LUPHISI VILLAGE AS AN EMBODIMENT OF STRUCTURAL EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN MBOMBELA: LESSONS FROM SDUNGENI SECONDARY SCHOOL .....	73
4.1 Introduction .....	73
4.2 Lowveld High School versus Sdungeni Secondary School .....	73
4.3 Inequality in the Flesh.....	74
4.3.1 Pictures Speak a Thousand Words... ..	74
4.3.2 A Tour through Inequality.....	77
4.3.3 The Learning Experience .....	78
4. 4 The Troublesome Link between Service Delivery and Corruption.....	82
4.4.1 Corruption is the Enemy... ..	83
4.4.2 ...Manifests itself in Many Forms.....	84
4.5 Rural Development.....	86
4.5.1 Education for Rural Development .....	87
4.5.2 Untidy Education System .....	88



4.6 Neoliberal Nature of Government and Intergovernmental Conflict.....	89
4.7 Confusion.....	91
4.7.1 Confusion Surrounding Land.....	91
4.7.2 Confusion re Management of Rural Schools .....	92
4.7 Conclusion.....	94
 CHAPTER FIVE.....	96
MEETING THE CHALLENGES THROUGH SPATIAL-DEVELOPEMENT ANGLES.....	96
5.1 Introducing Planning Intervention.....	96
5.2 Revisiting the Issues Feeding into the Persistent Spatial Educational Inequality in Mbombela, Luphisi.....	97
5.2.1 Inherited Educational Spatial Inequality.....	97
5.2.2 Educational Spatial Inequality Explained by Location and Socioeconomic Status of Communities.....	97
5.2.3 Challenges Facing Reform in Spatial Educational Inequality .....	98
5.3 How Does Planning Mitigate the Problem Posed by Spatial Inequalities in Education.....	99
5.3.1 Communicative Planning .....	99
5.3.2 Communicative Planning in Luphisi .....	99
5.3.4 Strategic Spatial Planning Complements Communicative Theory.....	102
5.3.5 Strategic Spatial Planning in Space .....	103
5.3.6 Luphisi after Communication Planning.....	104
5.4 Concluding Commentary.....	105

## ST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 2A:</b>	Conceptual Framework Diagram	20
<b>Figure 2B:</b>	School Fees a Major Barrier to Quality Education	28
<b>Figure 3A:</b>	The Big Five Province?	45
<b>Figure 3B:</b>	Dubious Pass Rates?	47
<b>Figure 3C:</b>	Pre 1994 – A Few Significant Events Forming the Bedrock of South Africa’s Unequal Education Landscape – including Luphisi.	51
<b>Figure 3D:</b>	Events Pertaining to Educational Redress and Reconstruction and the Ubiquitous Unequal Education.	52
<b>Figure 3E:</b>	‘Luphisi Entrance’ – Scattered Houses over the Mountainous Landscape	58
<b>Figure 3F:</b>	‘Employment Statistics’ – Job Distribution amongst the Economically Active in Mbombela	60
<b>Figure 3G:</b>	Micro-entrepreneurialism	61
<b>Figure 3H:</b>	Different Housing Typologies in Luphisi	62
<b>Figure 3I:</b>	‘Jojo Tanks’ used for Water and Toilets	63
<b>Figure 3J:</b>	Roads to and within Luphisi	64
<b>Figure 3K:</b>	Luphisi Clinic	65
<b>Figure 3L:</b>	A Tale of (Two Towns within) a City	68
<b>Figure 3M:</b>	Zoomed Disparities	69
<b>Figure 4A:</b>	Spot the Difference: Middle Class versus The Poor	74

## LIST OF MAPS

<b>Map 1A:</b>	Luphisa within Mbombela Local Municipality Region	32
<b>Map 3A:</b>	‘Mbombela and Mpumalanga relative to South Africa’	53
<b>Map 3B:</b>	Geographic Location of Luphisi Village within the Mbombela Local Municipality	55
<b>Map 3C:</b>	Luphisi within the Enhlanzeni District Municipality	57

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 4A:</b>	Comparison of Ten Learners’ Perceptions about the Absence of Resources and Facilities in their School	78-80
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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCING THE MOTHER OF ALL SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES IN SCHOOLS' DISTRIBUTION IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA.

*The symbols and meanings filtered into the capitalist schools' curricula shape, confirm, and maintain the dominant class ideology. In a capitalist society ... the very location of the school, whether it is in an affluent suburb or in the economically depressed inner city, reflects and reproduces the attitudes and values of the surrounding locality. Within a school setting, the grouping and instructing of students reproduce the social, political, and economic status quo. The school mirrors the essential class divisions of the larger society, and rather than changing them, hardens these divisions by perpetuating them in the young [...] Rather than being a place where ideas contend in an open market ... the school in a capitalist society is closed to alternative viewpoints that may threaten the hegemony that the dominant class enjoys over the lower class. Such hegemony is truly established when members of the lower or subordinate class begin to express the views and to share the values of the dominant class.*

*(<http://homepages.wmich.edu/~nbarnes/Document3.pdf>, undated: 238 – 239. **Neo-Marxists' views on education in modern-day society**)*

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#### 1.1 Overview: Setting the Scene

In 1945, JN le Roux, a National Party politician and one of the most prominent figures of apartheid South Africa, argued that 'the Natives' (Black South Africans) could not be given an academic education on the basis that doing this would rid the community of manual labourers (Fiske and Ladd, 2005: 42; Christie, 1988). This philosophy was shared by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the then Minister of Education and a prominent architect of apartheid in South Africa. In 1953 Verwoerd stated that Black South Africans (then known as the Bantu) 'should be educated for opportunities availed to them in life' because there was no use for the Black Africans to acquire an education that was not useful to them (Giliomee, 2012; Jansen, 1990; Christie and Collins, 2002; Kallaway, 2002). Verwoerd and all the fascist leaders of that time held the belief that there could never be:

...a place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live. (Verwoerd, 1953, 1960 as cited in Ratshitanga, 2007)

Such philosophies accordingly justified – and ‘warranted’ – formed a significant element in perpetuating structural inequality that sought to benefit only the European community. This ideology led to the tailoring of fascist educational policies and/or statutes that fit the concept of racial inequality.

Now, in order to maintain this realized status quo of the apartheid government, inequality was entrenched geographically, economically, politically, educationally and socially. For instance, the Bantu Education of 1953 was a significant pillar in the overall strategy to establish and sustain the separate development policy which sought to keep the Blacks and Whites separate in all socio-economic aspects. As an institution of the state, Bantu Education was implemented in a way that allowed it to be regulated by the government (Sampson, 2011; Rakometsi, 2008; Christie and Collins, 2002). On one hand, responsibility for the management of Bantu Education was carried out from the homelands (where the majority of black people lived) however centralised control and censorship remained firmly entrenched within the Nationalist Government so as to determine the contents of black education (Gool, 1966; Hale, 2010) ensuring that the model of socialisation for black people is achieved. In relation to controlling the curriculum and the overall learning of the Black South Africans in a way that sheltered the apartheid political economy, a case in point is drawn from Deputy Minister of Bantu Education in 1974, Punt Janson who stated that:

*“I have not consulted the African people on the language issue and I’m not going to. An African might find that ‘the big boss’ only spoke Afrikaans or only spoke English. It would be to his advantage to know both languages” (Ndlovu, 2006; 331-332)*

This statement speaks to the Neo-Marxist conception that schools are a function of the state. Moreover, schools are a reflection of how social relations of power are carried out in the educational sphere. Primarily informed by racism and separate development founded upon the subjugation of black people – Bantu education remains a prime example of how the states ideologies permeate the educational system and reproduce the structure of the socioeconomic system (Anyon, 2001).

Given the fact that space was by now designed and divided on the basis of race and ethnicity following the enactment of Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950, the sine qua non lies with the concern that schools became one of the distinct layers of differentiation, segregation and inequity. Another dimension of segregation and spatial distinction between the people of South Africa is found to be rooted in the implementation of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953. This piece of legislation sought to not only eliminate contact between Whites and Blacks but it equally represented distinction and inequality considering the unequal provision of facilities for the different races. In relation to this Massey (1995) points out that the spatial dimension brings forth the nature

of economic space and the conceptualisation of place. Massey then argues that this calls for an approach embedding all these issues in a notion of spatialized social relations because distribution does not just happen automatically. Instead, geographical character accounts for socioeconomic relations as well as political conscience. This substantiates the fact that space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and political views but it has always been political and strategic (Lefebvre and Enders, 1976, 1991; Soja, 1980). In essence, the location of a school as well as the condition of that school speaks volumes.

The statements by the then Minister of Education and his political allies do not only reflect the Neo-Marxists' notion of space and schools as institutions being designed to serve and advance the interests of the dominant class (Lefebvre and Enders 1976; Hill, 2010). The words also seem to have played an influential and certainly significant role in the creation and deepening of the unequal structure of the educational system in South Africa in the subsequent years. Black schools continue to be characterised by many aspects of disproportion which include a different curriculum, too few and under qualified – at worst – unqualified teachers while also enduring thinly spread physical resources (Nattrass and Seekings, 2001; Fataar, 2008). This raises the point that the social is inextricably spatial and the spatial is impossible to divorce from the social. Indisputably school enrolment was effectively, and arguably remains, both racially and geographically zoned (Kalloway, Kruss, Fataar and Donn, 1997). Thus the equal distribution of resourced schools and essential facilities could have been, and continues to be, the best single quantifiable index and potential for collective/inclusive growth as well as a major contributor to the spatial dimension of change.

South Africa's annihilation of apartheid in 1994 was heralded nationwide and globally as a victory for equality and human rights, offering unique prospects and responsibilities to reconstruct an unequal, fragmented and deeply discriminatory education system as well as an establishment of a unified "national system underpinned by democracy, equity, redress, transparency and participation" (DoE, 2001: 1). Yet, in the face of the enthusiastic and promise-fulfilled policy vision, the state of education in the post-apartheid era remains far-off from its initial premise of equity because rural communities in South Africa seem neglected and not prioritised as spaces that endured injustice for many decades (Fikse and Ladd, 2004; also see Jansen, 2002; van der Berg, 2008; 2007; Berg and Burger, 2003; Taylor and Yu, 2009). Decades after the obliteration of the separatist/fascist laws that facilitated prejudice and inequality, the schools in contemporary South Africa remain in dire straits. Contrary to the apartheid government which ensured divisions via forceful laws and legislation, the democratic dispensation allows inequality by means of policies that favour the only the rich – although untangling race from class in the South African context is undoubtedly challenging (yet, pointing to the importance of class in South Africa does not mean that people are located in the

class structure independently of the country's racialized history). As the educational landscape in South Africa increasingly reflects market-orientated policies – a “profound shift away from the original premises that had been established by the democratic movement in the early 1990s” (Kraak & Young 2000: 2), class has become a critical component of the reconfigured education system (Chilshom, 2004).

In South Africa today, while roughly 25% of children attend mostly functional schools and perform exceptionally well, the bulk which are in the region of 75% attend dysfunctional schools and perform extremely poorly. The failing majority are largely in deprived rural communities attending poor schools (Spaull, 2013). Anderson et al (2001) find that parents are increasingly moving house in order to fall into the catchment zones of resourced schools. While a majority cannot afford to move house, they resort to commuting. However, this daily school commuting has two important trends: the first is, a commute from former African areas to schools in former white areas, and the second, is an intra-township commute where learners travel from one part of an African township to a school in another part of the same African township (Sekete et al, 2001; Soudien et al, 2004, 2004b; Bisschoff and Koebe, 2005; Fataar, 2007; 2009). Sekete et al. (2001) clearly points out that the driver of this commute is a desire to access quality education. However, this commute is costly, so only those who can afford it do it. Although, there is evidence that parents make many sacrifices to fund this commute (see for instance Woolman and Fleish, 2006), numerous learners in black rural and township schools remain trapped in a survivalist economy, as their families are financially unable to enrol them in fully resourced schools largely located in affluent urban areas (van der Merwe, 2011).

Clearly, access to resourced schools comes at a price and structurally then; the poor are more likely to be confined to poorly-resourced schools (Weber, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Naidoo, van Eeden and Munch, 2010). These geographies of education continue to reflect structural imbalances in the form of spatialised relations of power as well as opportunity (Christie, 2012). This then brings Spaull's (2013) point to the fore, that despite large government spending on education, the correlation between education and wealth still manifests in the dualistic nature of the education system in post-apartheid South Africa. The equal provision of quality schools as a spatially-blind approach remains a mammoth task for the government and this persistent unequal geographic accessibility to schools questions governments' determination to ensure equity and redress, particularly educational reform, as a tool to eradicate structural socio-economic inequalities.

But why should there be concern about the maintained structural geographic divisions of class in relation to educational access because more and more schools in poor communities are reported to be increasingly doing well?

## **1.2 Presenting the Problem Statement**

The improvement of access over the years shrouds the server inequalities that still plague schooling, particularly in terms of quality education in the previously disadvantaged areas. In South Africa, matric performance is the definitive measure of a learner's accomplishment. However, the Department of Education (DBE) in partnership with Unicef (2013) make note that matric performance is also a historical reflection of disadvantage and of differences in resources. For example, some schools consistently record a 100% pass rate whereas others struggle to exceed 40%. Thus amidst the enthusiasm behind the matric pass rates – case in point being the 2013 78.2% matric pass rate – critics were concerned about the quality of that achievement. The concerns rise on the basis that matric performance and/or pass rate does not tell the whole story behind the performance. The DBE and Unicef (2013) report that the results are an unreliable indicator of quality and equality because they exclude important information including:

- The number of pupils who entered the examination as well as how does these fares with previous years' numbers.
- The number of pupils who wrote the examination.
- The number of many learners who passed in total and how this compare with previous years – a higher pass rate may be a result of lower numbers entering.
- The ratio of passes to total Grade 12 enrolments and were large numbers of learners dissuaded from writing the Matriculation examination.
- The ratio of passes to total enrolment in schools including what proportion of learners actually made it through from Grade 1 to 12 and finally passed Matric, and
- The number of those who passed at a level sufficient to enter University. (DBE, 2013:46)

In addition to this, the 30% minimum pass requirement instituted by the Minister of Basic Education (John, 2014) becomes a further hindrance in quality. Evidently this is a structural problem. This is violation of the rights of South Africa's children to quality education. Furthermore, Statistics South Africa (2011) reports that poor education is an important element contributing to the persistent high employment in the country. The report notes that although there has been considerable improvement in poverty statistics, this was largely a result of social grants and not improved quality education. In this instance, the issue in education is not feeding into the labour market yet more and more people are becoming dependent on the government.

While education equality has become a major goal around the world (Wood, Levinson, Postlethwaite and Black, 2011), significant limitations are especially in poor areas where public schools reflect the low socioeconomic standard of their communities (van der Berg, 2002; Naidoo, van Eeden and Munch, 2010). Gardiener (2008) and Hess and Finn (2004) find that many of the poor

schools located in these poor areas do not have the 'urban luxury' of access to essential educational facilities. Williams (2010) agrees that notwithstanding the poor quality of teaching and learning, the poor state of school infrastructure such as shortage of classrooms, decent playgrounds, lack of essential educational facilities that ensure equal access to education such as libraries, such as libraries, laboratories and media centres, the frequent lack of proper sanitary facilities and clean drinking water remains a problem. Bloch (2009) and Pollard-Durodola (2003) admit that although there are several other inputs that have a huge impact on schools effectiveness, school environments in which the common characteristics of effective schooling prevail remain the most favourable to any possible learner success because schools environment translates to school effectiveness. However, schools appear to physically reflect their surroundings, often being as under-resourced and dilapidated as their poverty-stricken surroundings – generally the rural areas – or as richly resourced and well maintained as their wealthy neighbourhoods – typically urban areas (Chisholm, 2004; Naidoo, et al., 2010). While Bloch (2009:59) opines that these poorly resourced schools function as “sinkholes”, Spaull (2013) puts emphasis on the dual economy as the basis of the difference in schools. Although race remains a major factor in explaining school performance (van der Berg, 2007), the structural difficulty and geographic location affects access to, and quality of, education (Yamauchi, 2004, 2011; Naidoo, et al., 2010; Crouch and Mabogoane, 2001; van der Berg et al., 2011; Spaull, 2013; Christie, 2012). The primary problem is poorly-resourced schools do not sufficiently equip learners with the knowledge and skills required to access the world of work and/or tertiary education. Although some learners and teachers rise above the challenges of inadequacy, numerous are left in deep water.

The apartheid schooling legacy remains sharply represented spatially (Naidoo et al., 2013; Lama, Ardington and Leibbrandt, 2011; Fikse and Ladd, 2004; van der Berg, 2003; 2007; 2008; Spaull, 2012), with rural areas arguably feeling the pinch than other areas (Schlemmer and Moller, 1997; Gopaul, 2006). The Department of Education is failing dismally in the significant task of transforming the unequal face of schools via adequate, efficient and effective distribution and the promise of equal distribution of resources has not yet materialized (Vakalisa, 2000). With cognisance of the obvious footprint of apartheid, there are numerous discernible incidents that point to the contemporary democratic government as the perpetrator of this legacy of unequal education (see for instance Motala, 2002; Jansen, 2010; 2001). Spatial disparities in the distribution of schools have more to it than at face value. The spatial pattern of schools encompasses several serious educational constraints which mirror the unjust past of Bantu Education as well as the current elitist nature of South Africa, which profiles learners into specific social class positions. This has resulted in two educational worlds which even in democratic South Africa continue to perpetuate each other.



Urgent strides need to be taken in dealing with the structural problems of the school system by looking to create beacons of hope from the impoverished schools of South Africa. In view of that, this warrants the study to explore the inequality in the spatial distribution of schools in view of Bowles and Gintis (1972) who argue that the school as a medium for social differentiation. In this explanation, school allocates people to specific class positions.

### **1.2.1 Research Questions and Purpose of the Study**

Given the on-going basic services backlog in South Africa most notably in rural areas, the task of providing quality schools and the necessary educational facilities is also a challenge. The main purpose of the study is to investigate the challenges associated with unequal spatial distribution of schools. Therefore the main question and the sub-questions of this study are as follows:

*What are the structural hindrances to the equal distribution of resources to rural schools of South Africa, especially in Luphisi, within the Mbombela Municipality?*

Firstly, the purpose of this research study is to explore the challenges related to structural inequalities in the provision of adequate educational facilities in post-apartheid South African rural areas such as Luphisi. Secondly, the study seeks to understand the strategies involved in providing schools in South African rural areas, particularly the extent of policy involvement and integration in the process of ensuring equal spatial distribution of resourced schools as a means to address structural socio-spatial inequality. Thirdly, it seeks to understand the implications of the persistent structural inequality between schools as well as getting a sense of the nature and extent of challenges and controversies posed by the inability of post-apartheid policies in eradicating or reducing apartheid legacies confined to geographical inequalities.

In answering this question and developing depth to the investigation, the researcher made use of the following sub-questions:

- What are the causes and/or contributions to structural educational disparities in Luphisi?
- What are the impacts of structural educational disparities in Luphisi?
- How can planning mitigate the spatial educational inequalities in Luphisi?

### **1.3 Rationale of Study**

Inequalities have a considerable potential to swell up into dangerous and unstable social and political tensions and conflicts if they continue to be disregarded. This is especially significant in view of the unequal society and violent history of South Africa. Over and above that, the significance of the study becomes illuminated when looking into post-apartheid policies that accept structural inequality by focusing on areas of strength and advantage. For instance, amongst several other

economic policies, the National Spatial Development Perspective (2006) chooses to prioritise allocation of physical infrastructure/resources in areas of economic potential and make soft investments in lagging areas. The policy maps out several of these areas and Mbombela is amongst those with economic potential. Luphisi is something of an interesting case because it falls within an area of economic potential but it still lags behind development-wise. It is attention-grabbing because it represents an area that is somewhat caught-in-between. It falls under Mbombela but it is rural in nature – lagging behind in both physical and soft infrastructure. Over and above that, Mpumalanga has constantly been in the news/media for examination scandals at Matric level (see Chapter Three), and this is also of interest because soft investments should be prioritised for poverty relief through the development of human skills.

The talks of development of rural areas through intensifying service delivery are ever-present. There is vast literature on post-apartheid South African education, embracing the challenges of access to resourced schools and necessary facilities (see for instance Sedibe, 2011; Crouch and Mabogoane, 2001; Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000; Onwu and Stoffels, 2005). This study is significant and novel as it signifies the need for urgent strides towards equal provision of schools as an indicator of redress and justice. The study is on the whole significant since it adds to the existing literature on planning for development. However, a great deal of significance lies in the fact that although there is vast literature on unequal education in South Africa as a legacy of apartheid, this study settles on a different stance which seeks to illuminate and explicate educational inequality in structural terms. The potency is found in specifically focusing on the spatial pattern of education and the inborn causes and/or challenges from a point of view of rural areas. Inevitably, this trajectory will move in a direction that will shed light on the significance of political and economic spatial planning.

## **1.4 Research Methods**

This research study adopted a qualitative approach to understanding the persistent lack of equal service delivery in rural areas, with regards to providing quality educational facilities. Qualitative research is a generic term that refers to groups of methods and ways of collecting and analysing data that are distinctly different from quantitative methods because they lack quantification and statistical analysis. The study investigated the challenges and changing aspects of the distribution of schools looking for to understand the challenges or causes of structural inequalities in the provision of educational facilities in Mbombela, the case of Luphisi.

### **1.4.1 Qualitative Method of Analysis: Qualifying the Qualitative Method of Enquiry**

Qualitative research is a multifaceted type of research technique which crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject (Risimati, 2007) which happened to be important in this study because it essentially

sought to join the subject of education with physical spatial planning. Over and above, the field of qualitative research has established itself as a legitimate discipline for the inquiry of meaning (Ibid.), for example what the structural inequality in distribution of education institutions means. This is significant because educational institutions can be understood as a reflection of the standard of human capital / social capital and the to an extent mirror the extent to which government concerns itself with such vital institutions. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research, challenges the status quo and interprets statistics from human behaviours' view point (see Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). This method of enquiry was especially important to this study because it elucidated to the chronic imbalanced educational statistics in South Africa. Not only that, it allowed the researcher to engage with the findings through interrogation and giving significance to the findings.

For that reason, the purpose of this method of inquiry is found in Merriams' (2009: 13) definition which states that qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world. This kind of analysis allowed the researcher to produce various representations of experience as well as means to facilitate the understanding of the socioeconomic, political, cultural and physical context in which behaviour occurs. Therefore, qualitative research is holistic attempting to understand experience as unified (Patton, 1990).

### **a) Multiple Methods of Enquiry**

Given the detailed definition of qualitative research by Denzin and Lincoln (2005)<sup>1</sup> one can imagine the range of possible research methods that qualitative research might generate. This field of inquiry allowed for the inclusion of various kinds of data collection (ibid.; Philip, 1998; Creswell, 2009; Patton, 1990; Leedy and Ormrod, 2001), analysis techniques as well as the diversity of theoretical/conceptual frameworks. As such, the study arrived at presenting a cohort and demonstration of multiple truths rather than 'a single truth', lessening the likelihood of falsification of data (Philip, 1998). Essentially the multiple truths relate to how the hindrances of spatial inequality in schools locations are a product of several inputs. Further confirming Philip (1998), Zuker (2009) argues that in a qualitative study approach, the use of multiple sources of data elucidates a specific phenomenon. Perhaps this is by large a corroboration of the importance of contextualising

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<sup>1</sup>Denzin and Lincolns' (2005: 3 as cited in Flicke, 2007: 2)

... a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

analysis of data which was in all aspects adopted by the researcher evidently through a case study approach.

#### **1.4.2 Collection of Relevant Data**

The researcher used data obtained from both the primary and secondary sources.

##### **a) Primary Sources**

The following primary sources were consulted: interviewees, newspaper articles, journals, internet and legislation. Interviews were conducted with individuals and experts affecting and affected by rural education. Newspapers are an important source that provides information on current events. The day-to-day coverage brings with breaking news, hot topics, relevance and confidence. In addition, newspapers have the ability to indicate interests of the popular culture and/or masses. Political cartoons are also an important part of a newspaper – usually blunt and often controversial, triggering an interest from the reader. Similar to newspapers, journals and internet sources are good in providing current information. However, journals are largely professional in scope, specific to a field of study and reliable. Additionally, journals like dissertations are authoritative as opposed to comparative newspapers.

##### **b) Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources are not witnessed by the writer/author. However, secondary sources brought with them authentic and reliable information carefully fused together; all round historical data including related research on matter at hand; experts' views and overviews. These included books, dissertations and theses.

##### **c) Categorising and Presentation of Data**

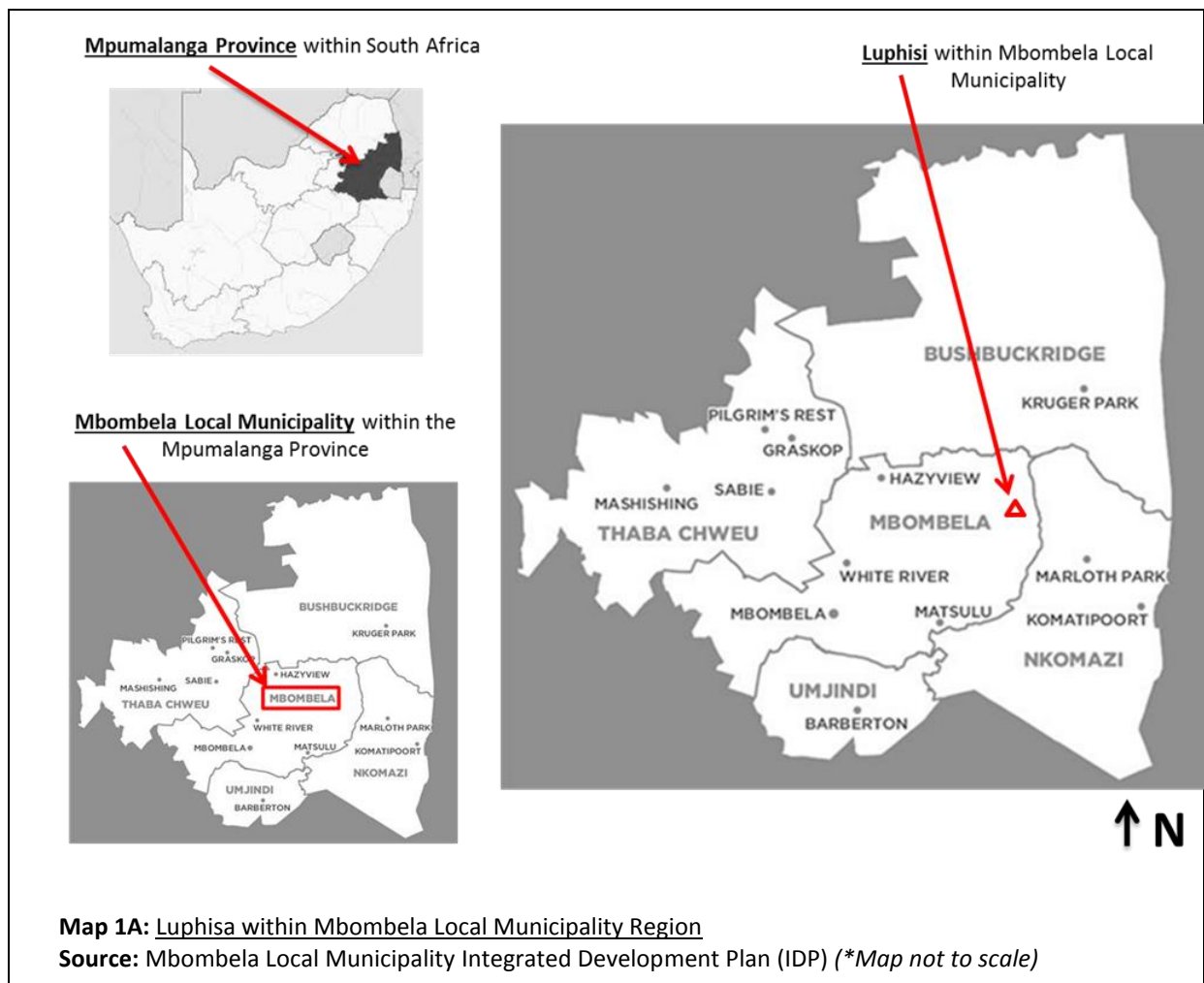
In this study content analysis also known as categorising of data (Strauss and Corbin 1990) was the main form of data analyses. After collecting the data, the researcher organised the information she had gathered and developed a method to classify and index the materials (Patton, 1990) via a process referred to as 'coding' (Neuman 2003 as cited in Risimati, 2007). According to Neuman (as cited in Risimasi, 2007), coding is the operation by which data is broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways. Configuring and reconfiguring data thus allowed for it to be sorted into categories on the basis of themes and concepts (Ibid.). In the context of the study, the data comprised transcribed interviews, 'thick descriptions' emanating from observation, pictures as well as theoretical perspectives and concepts drawn from the review of literature. These were presented under the identified concepts that frame the study. This helped the researcher to organise and use data effectively to answer the questions related to the research study.

The collected data were then organised into readable thematized/categorised narrative descriptions and illustrative examples were extracted through content analysis. It is in Chapter 4 and 5 where the study presents and provides a qualitative analysis and interpretation of data obtained from respondents in the Mbombela/Luphisi area - the focus area of the study. All the same, the research was done on a small scale of 16 (sixteen) participants paying particular attention to the fact that ample size is largely a function of the purpose of the enquiry, the quality of the informants and the type of sampling strategy used.

However, it is important to bring forth the fact that it is common for researchers to experience problems while conducting research (Yin, 1994). The researcher was merely an instrument (Patton, 1990; Leedy and Ormrod; 2001) part of the study because she was not a bystander as is the case in quantitative research (Spenziale and Carpenter 2003). As a consequence, the strength of qualitative research presentation and analysis of data is largely hinged on the qualitative researchers' skills, competence and rigour. While the researcher tried by all means necessary not to remove subjective ways of seeing from the phenomena; the researcher still engaged submissively in the phenomena and was very aware of interpretive framework.

#### **d) Case Study: Mbombela's Luphisi as an encapsulation of Spatial Education Inequalities**

The study used the case study of Luphisi a rural community under the largely urban Mbombela Local Municipality and on the outskirts of Mbombela (Nelspruit) to explore and explain the potential role of strategic spatial planning in the reduction of education-related inequalities. Mbombela (formerly Nelspruit) is the capital of the Mpumalanga province (see Map 1A).



According to Gopaul (2006), it is especially important to investigate an area while the case studied is still in progress. Luphisi was chosen as the case study because it is an impoverished rural community with appalling educational facilities although in the proximity of a thriving and sought after location Mbombela. As case studies are an ideal approach when a comprehensive, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin et al, 1991); Luphisi has been chosen because it is one of the many rural communities that are faced with service delivery challenges and appropriately exemplifies the apartheid legacy of neglected rural areas. This is general representation of other rural areas in South Africa

A single case study method, in comparison to a multiple case study method, can be viewed as plausibly ineffective because of its inability to provide a generalising conclusion, especially when the events are unusual. While this may be the case, in the context of the case study, the single case study allowed for 'triangulation' as well as room to confirm its validity with other approaches. Using additional methods of enquiry for validity such as literature, interviews, observations, photography and mapping helped the researcher to convey and understand a complex challenge enhancing what

is already known through previous research. This case study approach allowed for a detailed contextual analysis of an event/condition and relationship.

This case study fits into the research study by means of its demographics. In addition to its uniqueness (discussed under the significance of the study heading); Luphisi is a growing community that significantly contributes to the overall growth of the city of Mbombela. However, the village is often alluded to under the shadow of neighbouring areas due to its own sluggish growth and dull socioeconomic landscape. This is a significant error considering the growing population, middle-class group as well as the tourism surrounding the area – Mthethomusha Game Reserve. There is a significant number of youth as well as budding small businesses to help fight the unemployment situation. Nevertheless, Luphisi is an underprivileged village surrounded by areas that far outgrows it.

This research is an investigation bringing details from the perspective of the participants using numerous sources of data. The research is investigative because it attempted to understand the effects of structural inequalities in the division of schools in Mbombela. The case study method also made the study explanatory in the sense that it revealed the impacts of apartheid spatial inequality in the distribution of schools as well as the continuation of this rural spatial form by current government policy; and analysed the current plans to reduce structural educational inequality. The study further examined the connections between spatial planning and service delivery in support of education in a society structured by immense divisions and inequalities. The study is also descriptive by virtue of the fact that it analysed and unpacked the difficulties of establishing and maintaining educational facilities in rural schools.

### **1.4.3 Interviews**

The researcher conducted face-to-face interviews. Due to the limited time frame and scope of the study, the interview questionnaires were designed in such a manner that it sought to identify the essential concerns about the dynamics and challenges of spatial inequalities in the provision of educational facilities in Luphisi. The time frame and scope of the study allowed for the interviewing of twelve learners and the Principal of Sdungeni Secondary School; the Ward Councillor as well as the Inspectors of Education of the community of Luphisi; and a Town and Regional Planner as well as a Member of the Mayoral Committee responsible for Human Settlements in the Local Mbombela Municipality.

Also, as a result of the limited timeframe, the researcher reasoned that a random interviewing of multiple learners at the same time would serve the purpose of ‘killing two (or more) birds’ with one stone; and thus randomly approached twelve learners with a qualifying question of whether they

lived in Lumphasi or the immediate surrounds of that community. The approached learner respondents were from different grades/study levels and were chosen across all grades (from grade eight to twelve) – which proved to be an advantage for the researcher especially given that the study aimed to display the multiple and often different conceptions of the schooling challenges the different learners are aware of. Two learners from each grade were chosen in an attempt to illustrate the unique identified issues. What also gave the researcher more ‘robustness’ was the realisation on her part that some of the selected learners were from different study fields in terms of their subjects, and this was useful in the researcher’s understanding of not only the collective academic difficulties they encountered in their respective study fields but also in enhancing the different problems (they) put forward. The researcher had a one-on-one interview session with the Principal of Sdungeni Secondary School. The interview was aimed at understanding the infrastructural concerns of the Principal (and perhaps on behalf of all teaching staff) and possibly bring to light on whether or not there is some sort of communication about infrastructural and facilities/resource related challenges between the Department of Education and the school.

The ward councillor is closest to the beneficiaries of government provisions and was interviewed by the researcher in her quest to understand the broad concerns of how the education system is understood as well as to understand whether these government officials have been exposed to community protests or any other form of complaint, and what has been done to address such challenges. The inspectors of education in that community were also interviewed by the researcher on the basis that they were conceived to be a reflection of the local government’s need to strengthen its own confidence and capability and that of the rural communities through engaging more effectively with the rural people.

The Town and Regional Planner portray an important role in reflecting whether the approaches of planning encompass ideas of strategically planning the rural area, particularly to enhance service delivery and ensure development planning. For these reasons, the researcher sought for their standpoints via interviews. The Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) was considered to be the most important individual based on the conception that her role is to integrate all the policies as well as ensure that development is adequately planned for the development and sustainability of human settlements. For instance, the researcher presumed that it was standard that local government's place roles are powers and influence to resourcefully promote the welfare of a community and its citizens.

#### **1.4.4 Observations**

Observations have the possibility to be conducted on almost any research question, and observations do depend on the research question. Observing people as participant observation –



where the researcher interacted with participants and became part of their community – and unobtrusive observation – where the researcher did not interact with participants but rather simply recorded their behaviour (Driscoll, 2011). The researcher spent time with participants, particularly the school learners, understanding their behaviour, particularly their interaction with their respective surroundings as well as their different attitudes towards education. Behaviour and body language unravelled ‘hidden truths’ as well as brought to light unusual aspects that were deeper than dialogue and which were totally unanticipated by the researcher.

#### **1.4.5 Photography**

In attempting to paint a vivid picture – and thus provide an example of a more detailed description of the physical condition of typical rural schools – the researcher took pictures of Sdungeni Secondary School and then juxtaposed these with those of a better equipped school in the Mbombela Local Municipality. This was done in an attempt to paint a picture of the extent to which spatial inequalities are pronounced/evident in the area. This was also done in an attempt to understand the scenery of education in this rural area and the logic behind the proposed need for strategic spatial planning’s intervention in rural areas such as Lumphisi. The photographs taken by the researcher became a container from which individual viewers could withdraw/expand meaning. Byers (1966: 31 as cited in Schwartz, 1989: 120) describes photography similarly by stating that:

...the photograph is not a ‘message’ in the usual sense. It is, instead, the raw material for an infinite number of messages which each viewer can construct for himself. The photograph conveys little new information but, instead, a trigger meaning that is already in the reader.

#### **1.5 Limitations of the Study**

The subject of educational inequality spans over a wide array of perspectives and therefore the researcher envisaged making a careful selection of material that is relevant in structural and to an extent spatial terms. The research question is broadly about the structural disparity in schools reflected through poor essential facilities that ensure access to quality education in rural South Africa. Although South Africa (as a country) and/or Mbombela (as a city) have numerous rural areas that support the purpose of this research study, the chosen study area is Lumphisi, a village within the Mbombela Local Municipality (MLM). Although other rural areas are outside the scope of this study, Lumphisi was a significant case study with regards to access to schools (and quality education) because the area represents countless other rural areas in the South African landscape that face similar challenges of inadequate provision of schools and essential educational facilities. As is typical with case studies, caution in this particular study was exercised in extrapolating and generalising from the findings of the study. Nevertheless, with in-depth descriptions of the case dealt with in this study, it is anticipated that many of the results obtained in the research will resonate with similar contexts.

The research is significantly constrained by the quality of the structure of the sample. By virtue of the fact that the sample comprised informants of the area (Mbombela Municipality and Luphisi community) and focused only on one secondary school, the sample is not sufficiently heterogeneous. For this reason, the limited heterogeneity in respondents' demographic characteristics could have affected both the nature and the extent of the research. Additionally, the population of the experimental group was small, and as such findings might not represent the minute issues associated with the education situation – issues that require a larger and more heterogeneous experimental group. Moreover, the questionnaires were designed to match the study's sub questions and objectives; therefore limited within the indicated timeframe and scope of study. In addition, since the study was conducted by the researcher, it is thus unavoidable that a certain degree of subjectivity can be found.

### **1.5.1 Delimitation in Relation to Time**

The period under discussion covers the apartheid era (instigated in 1948) as well as the democratic South Africa (inaugurated in 1994). Before 1994, the provision of quality education was dependent upon race – maintaining the status quo of white superiority and black inferiority. The whites - as the 'superior race' - attended resourced schools with all necessary educational/developmental facilities and therefore received quality education. On the other hand, the 'low-ranking' and 'inferior' black race attended poor schools that often had crowded classrooms, lacked basic furniture and necessary educational resources and facilities, and had less qualified teachers who were products of the same education system and sometimes not qualified at all. Black people received an education of a poor standard. The National Party Government established the Bantu Education Act of 1953 as a means to fulfil Afrikaner and White cultural goals. Several racial laws were established to maintain the separate development agenda which to this day remains a huge obstacle to inclusive economic growth in contemporary South Africa.

In 1994, the newly elected democratic government assumed political power and hastily expunged all racial laws – new equal laws and legislation was developed to usher in a new equal society as well as redressing and correcting the injustices of the past government. In the democratic era the government repeatedly pledged to restructure the school system so as to allow equal access to quality education. In view of that, the study is concerned with the challenges still facing rural education.

### **1.5.2 Delimitation in Relation to Space**

This study focused attention on rural education based on the history and demographics of that space. Firstly, the study is concerned with the low standard of education provided to Black learners in rural areas compared to that received by White learners in affluent urban areas – this being a

consequence of the separate Bantu Education approach instigated by the fascist government. The effects of Bantu Education were mostly felt by Black people residing in rural areas and this was eased by the separate residential locations legislation the Group Areas Act. Secondly, since gradually Black people are developing and entering the high-ranking socioeconomic levels of social stratification, education inequality becomes a matter of both geography and socioeconomic standard.

### **1.6 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical sensitivity has come under serious scrutiny in recent years illustrating the repetition of an established issue of the lack of ethical behaviour exhibited by researchers and professionals of all various fields (Fouka et al., 2011). Thus, in the planning and conducting of a research study, it was imperative for the researcher to fulfil obligations of ethical purposes in order for the research study to produce fair and neutral results (Ibid.). Klinç, Özgür and Genç (2009) state that planners in particular can never have actions that are value-free, and that planning investigations must therefore strive to trace explicit and implicit considerations of ethics in planning (also see Ploger, 2004: 50). Since planning is tightly linked to social sciences, it is associated with complex issues such as cultural, legal, economic, and political phenomena. This complexity implies that social science research must concern itself with moral integrity to ensure that research process and findings are trustworthy and valid (Freed-Taylor, 1994). As a consequence one the respondents, a Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) will not be named.

Notwithstanding the subjective views of the qualitative researcher, on the issue of spatial inequality of education in Luphisi and similar rural areas in South Africa, the research is not a product of invented findings and conclusion of the researcher's viewpoint. This implied that the researcher, regardless of her views and perceptions of the issue that was under study (the challenges or causes of spatial inequalities in the provision of educational facilities in Mbombela) the case of Luphisi was not translated to suit the views of researcher in this study. The researcher was committed to producing fair and neutral findings solely influenced by the utilised data collection methods.

In all honesty and fairness, the researcher upheld and advanced the integrity, honour and dignity of her research participants; important deed that had to be taken into account by the researcher especially since considering fair treatment of the invaluable research contributors is an ethical element in research. The research's obligation to uphold and advance the integrity of her participants included the protection of their identities, not compelling the respondents to participate in ways that suited the researcher (for example putting words in their mouths). Moreover, the

researcher made a solemn promise to all her participants that all the information they disclosed to her would solely be for study purposes.

### **1.7 Outline of Chapters**

The research study consists of five chapters. The essence of the six chapters is succinctly encapsulated in the six paragraphs below.

**Chapter One** is a general ‘orientation section’ of the report sets out the scope and the objectives of the study, stating the problem to be examined and emphasising the essential nature of the problem: the distribution of resourced schools in rural areas, or uneven allocation thereof.

**Chapter Two** integrates analyses and discusses the identified core concepts of the study, delving into the pertinent reviewed literature of arguments, debates and theories relevant to the spatial inequalities in resourced school distribution.

**Chapter Three** introduces the area of study – Mbombela Local Municipality and Luphisi. The chapter will carefully examine the study area and shed light on the current condition of Sdungeni Secondary School – the only secondary school in the area – providing insight into how the educational facilities are a spatial manifestation of structural inequality.

**Chapter Four and Five:** bring to light the key issues gathered from fieldwork and site visits. The chapter is based on a grouping the information from fieldwork as well as explicating the significance of the key issues gathered from field work through engaging with, and interrogating, the data in view of existing literature.

**Chapter Six** is the study’s concluding chapter and it is based on a summary of the analysed and interpreted findings. Not only that, the chapter provides recommendations of how planning can lessen the challenges and dynamics associated with service delivery aimed at development. Additionally, the section responds to the objective of exploring possible planning interventions for facilitating mechanisms for providing educational facilities in rural areas.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

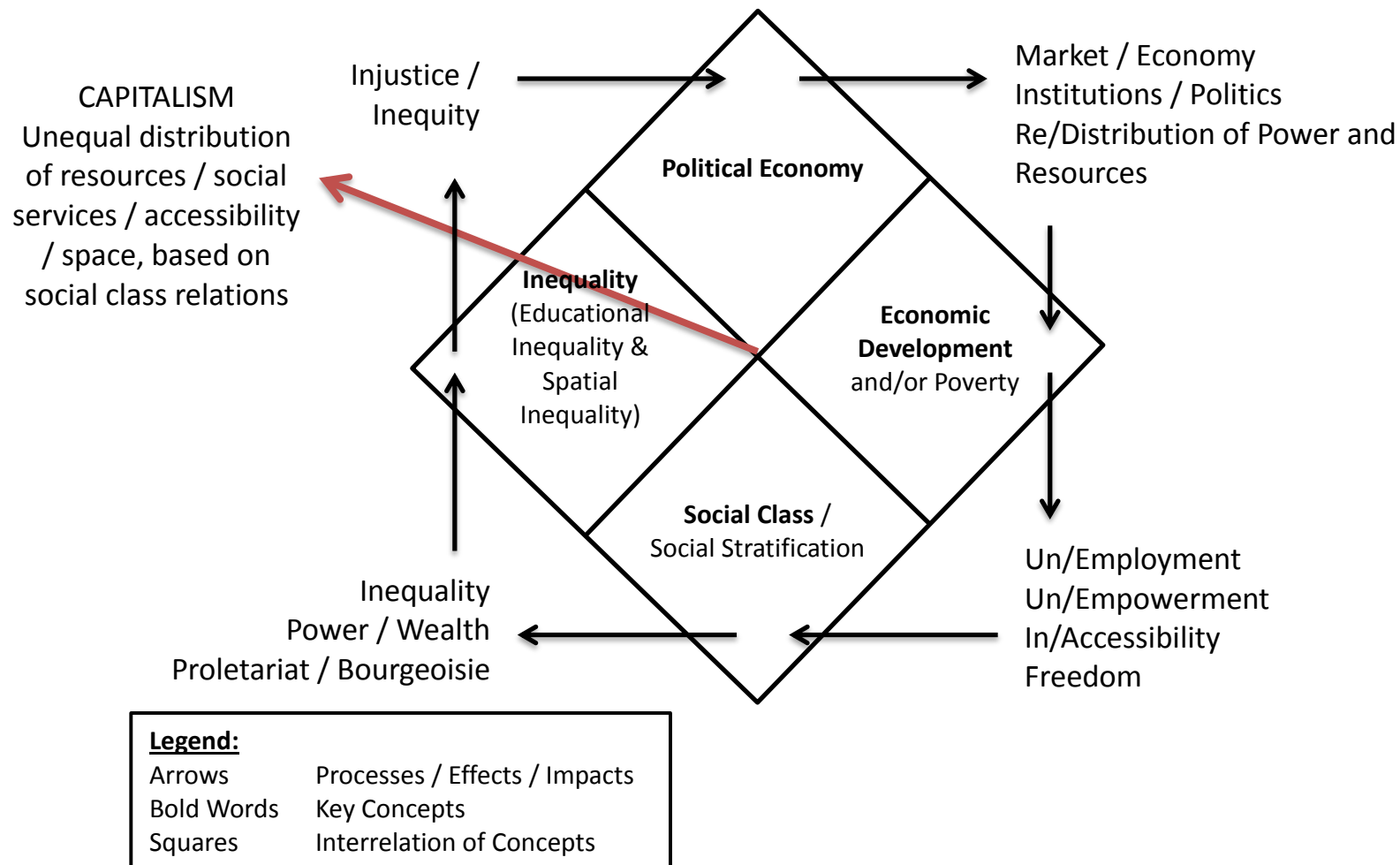
### **CAN WE TALK ABOUT THE POLITICS OF STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION?**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is a synthesis and integration of different raging debates on the issue of quality education as well as structural inequalities. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section presents a diagrammatic conceptual framework to introduce the main concepts in the study. The second section highlights debates and arguments put forward in structural spatial inequalities from the perspective of class and how that manifests in the South African context. The third part presents theoretical arguments that relate best with the topic of structural educational inequality by way of class struggle – the conflict theory. Together, the sections seek to shed light on three core elements: Who should be educated? What purposes should education serve? Why does education matter?

#### **2.2 Conceptual Framework Diagram**

It is important to define and identify the concepts fundamental to the study. There are four main concepts that have been brought together through the review of different pieces of literature relevant to the study - 'Political Economy', 'Economic Development', 'Social Class/Stratification', and 'Inequality with respect to education and space'. These four concepts form part of the conceptual framework and they not only articulate the pathways in explaining the core concerns of this study but they additionally express the proposed causal linkages among the set of concepts believed to be related. Figure 2A below is a diagrammatic representation of the four concepts deemed relevant for the study.



**Figure 2A:** 'Conceptual Framework Diagram' – A design depicting the study's main concepts and their interconnectedness.

### **2.3 Understanding the principal logic informing Spatial Inequalities and Uneven (National) Development: The Concept of 'Political Economy'**

A long-standing approach in social sciences, political economy is a concept whose origins are rooted in moral philosophy. Although developed in the 1900s, the concept only expanded into mainstream literature in the 1970s (Gamble, 1996). It is a complex concept – an extremely diverse field of study embracing the heterogeneity of theoretical traditions – whose fluidity is made apparent by the difficulty of defining and delimiting it. In spite of this heterogeneity, many scholars share the notion that the original premise of the term was for studying the market and its relations with the state and its various institutions – law, custom and government – as well as how power and resources are distributed across (national) space (see for instance Gamble, 1996; Caporaso and Levine, 1992).

Jamieson (2012: 47) refers to political economy as “any method of government that can procure the nation’s prosperity”. Foucault’s (1991b: 102) studies on governmentality and modern-day governance support this definition by portraying political economy as the “principal form of knowledge” to have been used in the wielding of power and the production of an aggregately prosperous and well-ordered society. Essentially, a point that is commonly made by literature on political economy is that it is a crucial concept in the comprehension of the variance in the growth of countries because studying the economies alone fails to provide a complete picture of events (Alesina and Perotti, 1994; Foucault 1991a; Jamieson 2012). As such, political economy is very important in analysing the country’s or regions behaviour. In this instance, political economy helps understand schools and how they are linked to the (structural) economy.

Several scholars have enhanced political economy by establishing it in the neoclassical paradigm that continues to provide a model for mainstream economics in their literary works. One of these authors is Adam Smith, a pioneering economist and author of *The Wealth of Nations* 1776. Smith (1776) argues for the ‘natural progress of opulence’ which is long-term economic growth that is achievable through accumulation of stock, division of labour and improved skills and law – economies of scale and specialization – and market extent. Smith paid as much attention to the institutional prerequisites in enabling and producing a socially beneficial result. This motion has been supported and enhanced by David Ricardo (1817), a powerful political economist who brought to front the idea of comparative advantage from a book titled *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

Marxists rose with the contention that political economy is about improving government and the conduct of public policy in light of the way the economy works (Jessop, 1982; Gamble, Marsh and Tant, Lenin, 1917; Gramsci, 1971). Marxists critique the classical economist conceptualisation of political economy challenging the assumptions of the discourse (Ibid., Marx, 1863). The Marxian

ideas turn down the idea of the centrality of markets over the role of the state, and argue that the state is a central institution in all political analyses. Essentially, Marxists argue for the recognition of a political and a social life. Thus Marxian political economists examine the dynamic forces in capitalism responsible for its growth and change (Ibid.). Moreover, in as much as the last thing a fish would discover is water, Marx denounces the assumption that classes were derived technically from the division of labour (Salem, 1999) arriving at the point that labour is in itself as a framework with underlying structures of social relations based on class. Therefore, although the class relations of production are dependent on labour division, the issue lies with the fact that changes in labour process is an outcome of social relations (Massey, 1984; *ibid*).

The study takes on the Marxist perspective of political economy as well as the principle to get beneath the formal structures in order to reveal the underlying fundamental interests, incentives/motivation and institutions that facilitate or frustrate change. Alesina and Perotti (1994: 351) support this view by stating that “economic policy is the result of political struggle within an institutional structure”. Caporaso and Levine (1992) note the debates over the responsibilities of the state with regards to the economy. The debates raged around the nature and extent to which the state is responsible for mobilizing resources to ensure citizens satisfaction. Adam and Dercon (2009) note that while the crux of the matter in these debates encompasses patterns of economic development – the enjoyment of human freedoms (see Sen, 1999) forms a much more critical concern especially with regards to the narrower economic challenge of promoting and sustaining high and inclusive economic development. Therefore “the political economy of development is inextricably tied to the notion of the political economy of economic growth” (Adam and Dercon, 2009: 174).

As per the traditions of Marxian political economy, the study sought to reveal that economic statistics and activities are not mere structures for analysis but are in themselves presentations to be elucidated. A review of the concept of political economy sheds light on the fact that political economy is closely linked to the development of a country, the country’s social stratification profile, and its level of inequality. In actual fact, political economy has a fundamental impact on the status of education. In the context of the study, political economy becomes an important tool in the deciphering of the mechanisms informing infrastructural and socio-economic development in South Africa. This helps understand the way things are with regards to inequality in the quality of education in different localities such as those found in Mbombela. It also helps in understanding the neoliberal notion of trickle-down approach as brought about by the Growth Employment and



Redistribution (GEAR) policy that South Africa adopted in 1996 as well as the argument pushed by the National Spatial Development Plan (NSDP).

## **2.4 Economic Development doesn't mean anything if it leaves people out...**

Adelman (1961) and Robbins (1966) like to think of 'development' as a highly contested concept that can be defined in numerous ways, at different scales, by various people from a variety of disciplines. The broadness of the term has led to different conceptions and/narrower views of it qualifying 'economic development' as one of the various conceptions of development. The modern perspective underpins much of the work done by World Bank which is rooted in pure economic indicators of economic development. These include the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita, the Gross National Product (GNP) or the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Todaro and Smith, 2009). These indicators of development are regarded as appropriate based on the assumption that greater wealth enables better benefits such as access to health, quality education and therefore facilitates quality of life (Ibid.; World Bank, 1975; Stiglitz, 1998).

Although these indicators of development are still widely used, there are other broader measures which are rooted in the notion that economic development is a policy intervention. These include the Human Development Index (HDI) devised in the late 1980s by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Berenger and Verdier-Chouchane, 2007; Elkan, 1995). It is necessary to understand the role and functioning of the elements of development which are either institutional or political factors shaping the proximate determinants of growth such as policy choices (Hall and Jones, 1999; Easterly and Levine, 2003; Rodrik et al. 2004). Thus, the field of economic development is increasingly engaged with questions of institutional structures and forms of governance that influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens. Economic growth is one aspect of the process of economic development which qualifies the phenomenon to be referred to as the quantitative and qualitative change in the economy.

Furthermore, there are an array of theories and perspectives associated with the concept of economic development. The post-World War II literature on economic development has been dominated by four major, and sometimes competing, strands of thought: the linear-stages of – growth model, theories and patterns of structural change; the international-dependence revolution; and the neoclassical, free-market counter-revolution. The first generation of economic development theory, by view of classical theorists, is branded by Rostow's (1960) idea of stages of growth model his book titled *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* as well as the Harrod-Doar model, an early post-Keynesian model of economic growth developed by Roy Harrod in 1939 in

conjunction with Evsey Domar in 1946 (Rostow, 1960; Harrod, 1948; Domar, 1947; Todaro and Smith, 2009; Ingham, 1995; Ghatak 2003).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the structural change models surfaced paying attention to the reallocation of labour from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. Exponents of this perspective are Lewis (1954) – with the two-sector model – as well as Chenery (1960) – with the patterns of development (also see Chenery, 1960, Chenery and Taylor, 1968, Kuznets (1971) and Chenery and Syrquin (1975) for a general view of explanation of structural changes of the time). In the 1970s and early 1980s, there emerged the dependence theorists. The dependence theory is largely considered as an extension of the Marxist theory because it incorporates the element of dominance by developed countries partly by means of multinational corporations in developing countries (Hein, 1992). This view also brings forth concerns of exploitation enabled by global capitalism (Cohen 1973; Ferraro 2008; Todaro and Smith, 2009; Dos Santos 1973; Elkan 1995; Ghatak 2003; Ferraro, 2008).

The 1980s saw the surfacing of the neoclassical counter-revolution models which used the free market approach, the new political economy approach as well as the market-friendly approach in order to counter the international dependence model. Contrary to the previous model, the advocates of this model - Johnson (1971), Little (1982), Lal (1983) as well as Bauer (1984) - opine that underdevelopment is caused by domestic problems such as poor governance which entails, among others, inadequacy in resource redistributions and corruption, rather than international agencies. Contemporary theories of economic development include: the 1990s new growth theory supported by Romer (1986), Lucas (1988) and Aghion and Howitt (1992) and the theory of coordination failure. This theory also became influential in the 1990s and is supported by Rosenstein-Rodan (1943), Nurkse (1953 and Hirschman (1957).

As per the 'Marxian' dependency perspective of economic growth, the study viewed economic growth as a phenomenon enabled by exploitation and dominance of the poor by the rich. The study also incorporated the endogenous aspect of economic growth (Grossman and Helpman, 1994) by advocating for the benefits of human capital in the overall growth of a society. By means of the Marxists analysis, the study explored the concept of labour and how divisions of labour enabled by differences in human capital reflect the capitalist relations of production.

## **2.5 Social Stratification / Social Status**

Social stratification refers to societal ranking and/or the categorizing of people in a hierarchal form, (Buckley, 1958; Davis, 1959; Tumin, 1953). The differences leading to this include status, power and

wealth (Kerbo 2000) and other explanations (Parsons, 1940; Tangent and Useem. 1942). Under the historical dimension of the social stratification perspective, exponents of the theories of stratification include Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Mark Weber (Kerbo, 2006). Along with Engels, in 1848, Marx began one of the world's most famous political writings on the subject of class; *The Communist Manifesto* (1964). Marx argues that the mode of production consists of two main economic parts: the substructure and the superstructure. This view is based on the observation that social class is determined by one's relationship to the means of production. Therefore Marx states that, "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1978).

Another advocate of the social stratification theory is Max Weber who has also for decades been highly influential in debates about social class, class structure and social stratification (Gane, 2005; Bendix and Lipset, 1953; Archer and Giner, 1971; Goldthorpe, 1972; Giddens and Held, 1982; Lee and Turner, 1996). Webber argues that the theory of stratification has three components that are linked to the concept of life chances. Drawing from both Marx and the functionalist perspective of social stratification, Webber argues that class, status, and power are three elements that bring social stratification and determine life chances. These three elements are believed to be related sources of power, each with different implications for social action (Brennan, 1997; Webber, 1947, 1958; Lasswell, 1965; Tumin, 1970; Gerth and Mills 1946). Weber discusses the connection between class and status in two places in *Economy and Society* (1978) and in *The Distribution of Power within the Political Community* (1978). Ultimately, Webber rejects the simple conceptualisation of social stratification as a product of class and argues that stratification is a complex hierarchy which involves four main social: the upper class, the white collar workers, the petite bourgeoisie and the manual working class (blue collar workers).

Karl Marx and Max Webber are primary contributors to the perspective of stratification and conflict also commonly known as the social conflict theory. Although they do not see eye-to-eye in terms of the significance of class, they are collectively in disagreement with the view that social stratification is functional for a society – as social functionalist theorists Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945) argue in their article *Some Principles of Stratification*; and neither are they looking into the gender or racial dimensions, amongst many others. Davis and Moore (1945) are still being debated by sociologists today in their functionalist view of social stratification which believes that social inequality is universal and necessary for inequality in societies with a complex division of labour. This view argues that major societal functions of stratification include, religion, the government, wealth, property and labour and, technical knowledge (Ibid, 1944). Moreover, other theorists began

combining dimensions of stratification from Marx and Weber for more sophisticated conceptions of class categories. The most impressive of these attempts has been Erik O. Wright's empirical work (Wright 1978a, 1978b, 1997; Wright et al. 1982; Wright and Martin 1987).

Focussing on the view that social stratification cannot be prevented or eradicated as it is a trait of society – economically advanced or under/undeveloped (Davis and Moore, 1944; Hatt, 1950; Lasswell, 1965; Tumin, 1970; Lenski 1966). In upholding that socially desirable resources are distributed unequally among several social groups, the fundamental questions that this view poses are: descriptive questions of: 'how unequal the distribution is?' As well as an explanatory question of: 'why such inequality exists?' (Sato 2010: 45). Therefore, this study seeks to answer the question: 'who gets what and why? The study utilizes the views of both Karl Marx and Marx Webber in that it views social stratification as a production of class which enables power, wealth and in the long run status.

## **2.6 Inequality**

### **2.6.1 Educational Inequality**

Essentially, unequal education means people are not equally prepared for the labour market – meaning life chances are also unequal. Whilst this inadequacy is measurable by different indicators, the general concern lies with the outcome of education which is largely indicated by performance and drop-outs. Vast literature seems to affirm that educational inequality is often closely attributed to economic disparities and it comprises educational equity that is seldom inseparable from residential location. This setting continues to perpetuate social and economic inequality as it is difficult to eradicate. In view of this, educational inequality is an important phenomenon to explore as research has proven its unquestionable contribution to promoting citizenship, equality of opportunity, social inclusion as well as economic growth and employment. Schultz (1963 as cited in Sylwester, 2000) has argued that human capital plays a crucial role in reducing income inequality. This notion has led to various studies focusing on public education as a plausible starting point in the attempts to lower income inequality (ibid; Saint-Paul and Verdier, 1992; Eckstein and Zilcha, 1994; Zhang, 1996) possibly because public schools generally serve a larger population than private schools. Moreover, others have taken the debate further including the necessity of ensuring sufficient resources in public schools to help the poor attend and remain in school (Sylwester, 2000). This brings forth the importance of 'equal opportunity' initiated by egalitarian philosophers such as Rawls (1971), Dworkin (1981, a, b), Arneson (1989) and Cohen (1989).

The primary issue is that, the poor are always on the receiving end of the injustice that is educational inequality. The poor are always the ones whose voices are not heard; and the danger is since inadequate education often correlates with unemployment and/or low wages, this correlation more-often-than-not translates into a vicious cycle of poverty and injustice. This study therefore underlines this problem by means of a case study. The study illustrates how a household income/background is tightly correlated with educational opportunity as well as future prospects beyond schooling.

### **2.6.2 Structural Inequality in Spatial Inequality**

Space denotes a dimension in which phenomena – populations, different amenities, are distributed. Conventionally, space has been viewed from an orthodox geometric perspective, quantifiable in terms of Euclidean distance (Curtis and Jones, 1998). However, given the revival of spatial sociology which justifies a renewed exploration of the various connections between space and society (Ibid.; Kearns and Joseph, 1993) space is no longer a void, all space has become a reflection of the social realm. From a plain view of space, humans are attached by gravity on the surface of the planet but, spatial sociologists “study how society comprising of individuals and collectives, transform natural space into social space, how they use and exchange it, what social, economic and other processes and forces come into play in these uses and exchanges, and how both kinds of space affect individuals, collectives, and social processes and forces” (Gans, 2002: 329).

An increasingly inflexible convention has begun to emerge within the Marxist spatial analysis. This view of space threatens to choke off the development of critical theory of space in its infancy. The concept of a socio-spatial language/dialect is introduced as a means of unlocking the debate and calling for the overt inclusion of the social production of space in Marxist analysis as something more than an epiphenomenon. Soja in his influential article *The Socio-Spatial Dialect (1980)* builds on the works of Henri Lefebvre, Ernest Mandel, and others, identifying a general spatial problematic and discussing it within the context of urban and regional political economy. The spatial problematic is an essential and increasingly salient element in class consciousness and class struggle within contemporary capitalism (Soja, 1980). Lefebvre is known for his exceptional and insightful display of the organisation of space as a material product, with the relationship between social and spatial structures of urbanism and with the ideological content of socially created space. Henri Lefebvre in *State, Space, World (2009)* emphasised that in human society all 'space is social'. This meant that space involves assigning appropriated places to social relations and social space has thus always been a social product. In that way social space becomes a metaphor for the very experience of social life. Thus O'Neill (1972: 174) comes to an understanding that “society is experienced instead as a deterministic environment or force (*milieu*) and as our very element or beneficent shell

(*ambience*)". In this sense social space bridges the dichotomy between public and private space and it is also linked to subjective and phenomenological space. As customary for orthodox Marxist scholars, Lefebvre substituted spatial/territorial conflict for class conflict.

Susan Fainstein a critical urban theorist who similar to Herbert Gans puts more emphasis on the social practices within cities meso and micro level. Fainsteins' (1994) is largely known by her two influential publications namely, *The City Builders* (1994) and *The just City* (2010). The first book is a combination of sociology and urban planning. The second book speaks more specifically to the angel of this study, in that it brings 'people' into the discussion. Fainstein argues that cities are becoming overly dominated by economic growth and the politics of planning isolating people centred concerns. This stand point is contrary to profit driven ideas by Richard Florida and Patsy Healey's neo-liberal and post-modern approach to urban development. With a Marxist background, Fainstein argues that urban policy should incorporate the needs of the poor, meeting standards of justice by means of equity, democracy and diversity. Fellow scholars such as David Harvey in *Social Justice and the City* (1973), Manuel Castells and Neil Smith focus on the structural and macro level of urban development.

Spatial form and spatial distributions are not a result of spatial processes but a result of social processes. Hence the structural inequality of schools seen through space is a phenomenon that influenced by 'social course of action'. Essentially, spatial inequality is a concept that seeks to lay bare the inputs of inequality. It seeks to draw a picture of uneven development inclusive of the mechanisms of uneven development. This is in the sense that it incorporates the nature of economic space as well as the conceptualisation of place arguing for an approach embedding all these issues in a notion of spatialized social relations. In this study, space is viewed from the Marxist notion of space in that it reflects social relations embedded in the class struggle (structural inequality in education). Thus an integral part of the study is based on the premise that geography answers the conundrum between educational inequality and income inequality.

## 2.7 Schools Legitimate the Myth that Everyone Has an Equal Chance...



**Figure 2B:** School Fees a Major Barrier to Quality Education

**Source:** Sowetan, 2003

*... Anyone who fails to achieve this goal, according to the myth, has only themselves to blame.*

The idea of free schooling is a result of the recognition of financial barriers to education. Therefore it is primarily about removing these financial barriers to education and allowing equal access to education as well as the opportunities brought about by access to equal quality education. In post-apartheid South Africa, two mechanisms have been introduced to alleviate the financial costs of schooling for poor children, a formidable majority of which were previously disregarded. The School-fee exemptions, introduced by the South African Schools Act of 1996 and outlined in the regulations of 2006, and the no-fee school policy outlined in the Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding of 2006. Now, although these policies are ostensibly about addressing financial barriers to education, they are also part of a broader education funding strategy designed to promote more equitable access to better quality education. Moreover, the idea of education funding is explicitly oriented towards improving the quality of school education by redressing the historic inequalities in school funding. Nonetheless, given the spatial distribution of quality schools and the communities they serve, resources remain unequal and education remains difficult to equalise.

In spite of the identified policy reform, it is an uncontested fact that there are vast disparities in the quality of education provided to children at different schools in the contemporary South Africa. Regardless of the fact that there are those who still uphold the duplicity that schools allow every child an equal chance to advance themselves, schools remain explicit indicator of socioeconomic opportunities a child is exposed to. Additionally, notwithstanding that there are some laudable exceptions, the quality of education provided at 'developed/resourced schools' in more affluent areas is generally far better than the quality of education provided at 'disadvantaged/poorly resourced schools' situated in poorer areas. Given the lingering effects of the apartheid regime spatial planning and racial dispossession, this means that schools formerly reserved for white children, in formerly white areas, often produce the best results (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2008; van der Berg, 2007; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

According to Bhorat and Oosthuizen (2008) as well as van der Berg (2007) equalization in access, government funding and exemption in school fees has not led to equalization of educational outcomes. The researchers find that there continues to be large differences in progress through schools and ultimate educational attainment as well as large inequality in school resources. School fees, which vary enormously even in government-run schools, play an important role in this inequality. The inequality brought about by school fees has led to an array of school inputs not being fully equalized (Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Yamauchi, 2005). For one, government subsidies have been limited, and so the financing of schools relies on the collection of school fees. Household income is directly correlated with opportunities of quality education. Thus the effects of income inequality are linked with quality of education.

School fee is determined by the School Governing Body (SGB) which consists of the principal, teachers, parents, community leaders and sometimes in secondary schools, some learners. Therefore, school fee represent the community's' capability of financing local public schools (Yamauchi and Nishishiyama, 2005; Selod and Zenou, 2003). School fee translates into school resources, student-teacher ratios, and household income. Although the South African government provides school subsidies according to local poverty measures, Selod and Zenou (2003) argue that previously white schools have hiked their school fees to exclude the previously disadvantaged black learners and the then Minister of Education, Kader Asmal assets to this saying:

*"Most [grammar schools] have benefited enormously from Apartheid and (...) today charge exorbitant school fees to keep Blacks out."*

South Africa's Minister of education Kader Asmal (Selod and Zenou, 2003: 351)

Although this statement for the most part screams raciality especially in the context of South African history, however the issue of class also becomes a formidable aspect when only a few of the previously disadvantaged are afforded the opportunity to mingle with the. This is substantiated in



literature looking at the growth of private schools and the growing inclusion of blacks in previously white schools. Moreover since school fee is a representation of local household income, this means income distribution affects a community's capability of improving school quality. Furthermore, the capability of a community to afford a higher school fee thus enhances human capital and income opportunities for the next generation. For example, Case and Deaton (1999) and Case and Yogo (1999) link school resources with quality schooling, learner performance and labour market outcomes. The issue here is that the negative effect of income inequality on school fees has the same long-term implications for income dynamics. Moreover, this remains a feeder of the chronic spatial inequality.

Are some children more equal than others?

Deracialialising the South African schools did not solve the problem. Deracialisation is not transformative. What is transformative is changing the structural problem of the way the schools system was set up in the first place – where black schools being impoverished, impoverished in terms of finances, resources and intellectual capacity. So these are the schools that need to be restructured into beacons of hope – and that would have dealt with the majority issue. This follows the apartheid model of class.

### **2.7.1 School Fees Remains a Significant Indicator of Quality**

School fee represents school resources such as learner-educator ratio (LER), learners' performance as well as labour market outcomes (Case and Yogo, 1999; Case and Deaton 1999) moreover quality education is measured by LER, performance and future labour prospects. For example on the LER, Case and Yogo (1999) illustrate that LER had significant effects on the rate of returns to schooling in South Africa during the apartheid regime. Yamauchi and Nishiyama (2005) agree that an increase in LER means a decrease in school quality and test scores exemplify this (see Case and Deaton 1999; Krueger 1999; Hoxby 2000; Dustman, Rajah, and Soest 2003). A study conducted by Phurutse in *Factors Affecting Teaching and Learning in South African Public Schools (2005)* between the period 2001 to 2003 analysed data on class size according to geographic location to ascertain whether there were significant differences between the rural and the urban settlement types. In the study Mpumalanga reported that 60% of rural educators reported teaching classes with more than 46 learners. Similarly educators in urban informal settlements reported 58.31%. The significance in this regard lies with the fact that it is poor schools in poor communities that are characterised by high LER and therefore low quality of schooling which often results in low prospects for labour market opportunities.

Furthermore, with cognisance of the fact enrolment into private schools and previously white public schools has been increasingly difficult for the poor majority due to the strikingly continuous rise in

fees (Selod and Zenou, 2003) learners continue to endure the outcomes of poorly resourced schools. This is based on Lama, Ardington and Leibbrandt's (2011) argument that it is important to keep in mind that school characteristics are only part of the story as they highlight the importance of the long-run impact of apartheid in leaving black parents without the resources to create a favourable home environment for students. This raises the issue of incorporating household income characteristics into studies of school outcomes. Unquestionably, school fee reflects the likelihood of residents being able to afford investments in schooling in the next generation and improving the reach of quality education since school fees charged represent the community's ability to pay for education.

### **2.7.2 Schools Fees Remains Spatially Defined**

Location becomes critical when access to opportunities is distributed unevenly over space. For example, when good schools are concentrated in urban areas, one must live in these areas to have good educational opportunities, and therefore good job prospects. The spatial pattern of inequality in schools performance remains a relentless challenge. For example, the concern over poor pass rates of matric learners in South Africa has encouraged a study by Naidoo, van Eeden and Munch (2013). Against the backdrop of large government spending on education, the study points out that the schooling system is struggling to convert resources to student performances and fail to promote social equity.

Using Cape Town as a case study, the study finds that there are spatial patterns among the matric pass rates of secondary schools. Secondly, there are relationships between the matric pass rate of the school and the socioeconomic attributes of the school feeder areas. Importantly, the study highlights that schools in the study area are clustered in terms of school performance with high performing schools grouped together and many low performing schools also clustered together. Although there were few exceptions where within a cluster of low performing schools there was one high performing school vice versa. In conclusion, outcomes of the study into spatially varying relationships point to selected socio-economic factors of the community, particularly parent and household characteristics, influencing the learner's performance. Massive differentials on achievement tests and examinations reflect South Africa's divided past (van der Berg, 2008). Consequently Taylor (2007: 537 as cited in van der Berg, 2008: 145) concludes that *"interventions in poorly performing schools, which probably constitute around 80% of the total, have realised some impact, but proved to be highly inefficient..."*

### **2.7.3 Inequality in the Classroom**

There have been countless studies of education that have dealt with the relationship between social class and student performance and how inequalities are sustained (Naidoo, van Eeden and Munch,

2013; Van der Berg, 2007, 2008; Lemmon, 1999; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Yamauchi, 2005). Against the backdrop of the sociology of education, various studies also explore the issues of pedagogy, giving analysis of how social class differences are filtered through schools and classrooms and how school and classroom processes potentially amplify differences between students (Bowels and Ginitis, 1976; Keddie, 1971, Dowling, 1998).

Hoadley (2005) conducted a broad study in South African in 2004 across a range of primary schools. The study sought to address the reproduction of social class variation through pedagogy. This survey included drawing on various data including class observation, interviews and student assignment records. Essentially this research was after portraying the variation in school settings based on social class, as well as to show how inequalities are potentially amplified through the pedagogic practices found in classrooms. Hoadley finds that these realities are born in history. Although the transition from the apartheid government to the democratic dispensation brought hope and other positivity's, class inequalities which are largely aligned with race have persisted – ensuring a highly stratified system of education as well as an entrenched social class (Chisholm, 2005; van der Berg, 2007; Fiske and Ladd, 2004). Based on the demographics of Hoadleys' study and in tune with various researchers in the field of education, Hoadley goes on to say that schooling in South Africa fails the majority of students in enhancing their life chances.

Hoadelys' study is significantly influenced by Bernstein's (1975, 1990) theory, which makes the important point that "there is a differential distribution of power and control relations across different social classes, and these produce different practices and forms of consciousness". Essentially, this illuminates the concern of unequal opportunities, the fact that due to unequal education and/or schooling which is attributed to social class, people start at different levels of opportunity and potential. For example, Bernstein's line of reasoning departs from the fact that there is differential positioning of people of different social class, dominant and dominated. Thus knowledge and power are distributed, transmitted and transformed differently by way of the different levels in which subjects are positioned. Therefore, class relations generate, distribute, reproduce and legitimate certain forms of communication which influence educational identity and specific skills are therefore clearly marked and bounded.

In essence, the focal point is that there is a differential distribution of power and control relations across different social classes, and these produce different practices and forms of consciousness. This is drawn from narrower space in a class room and in wider spaces of communities and the labour market.

## **2.8 Theoretical Perspectives for the Inequalities**

There are diverse sociological theories that seek to map societal occurrences and change as factors that lead or contribute to the inequalities in education. According to Holsinger and Jacob (2008) the theoretical environment formed over time by the aftermath political and economic conditions of World War II, yet framed largely within the Cold War context. As such, the development education theories of this period in many ways resembled the political and economic beliefs set forth by the super-powers of that era – the United States and Soviet Union. The study focuses attention on the functionalist theories.

### **2.8.1 Sociological Perspectives on Education Inequality**

To shed light on the issue of unequal education and why school fees has become a critical indicator of quality and an element of exclusion, the study will look into the work of sociologists and how they view this bias. These dualisms have been the bases of sociological thought and analysis through times of social stability and times of social crisis. Sociology of education is a field that focuses on two separate levels of analysis: at a macro-level and at a micro level. At a macro level sociologists work to identify how various social forces, including but not limited to, politics, economics and culture create variation in schools – looking into what effects do other social institutions have on the educational system. At a micro-level, sociologists look to identify how variation in school practices lead to differences in individual-level student outcomes. That is, when schools have different teaching methods or have different practices; how does that affect the individual students and what are the individual outcomes. This study elects to focus on the macro level of analysis, focusing attention on the Conflict Theoretical perspectives of education. It will use the classical Marxian class-based analysis to theorise the relationship between education and the inequality in society that is believed to be an inevitable feature of capitalist society/economy.

#### **a) Inequalities in the Distribution of Schools and Access to Quality Education**

##### ***I. Conflict Theory***

Social conflict theory is of a Marxist social theory origin which essentially argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources. This is based on the belief that the wealthy with more amounts of resources contrary to the poor and use their power in order to exploit groups with less power. Marxism was developed in mid-19th century Europe by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This was at a time when political and economic thinking was largely influenced by the emerging middle class of industrialists. This brought about extreme economic competition which led to socioeconomic inequality. Moreover, this led to the idea that education can perhaps better the lives of people by offering better future prospects. However inequality also became evident within the educational sphere. On the topic of educational

inequality, Marx and Engels did not write widely however, they developed theoretical perspectives to highlight the social functions of education. As a consequence their concepts and methods have served to both theorize and criticize education based on the premise of Marxism – the reproduction of capitalist societies. However, a number of proponents of Marxist education Gramsci, Althusser, Rikowski and Hill have since written widely about the system of education in a capitalist society.

Gramsci (1971) rightly views education as a vital tool for the advancement of civilization to a necessary level to meet with productive needs. However for Gramsci, education then becomes a force for the advancement of the interests of one class over another. This is a continuous process as children are structuralized by education because the education system is part of a state apparatus that cannot do otherwise than work in the interests of capital. As a result the education system in capitalist societies becomes inherently hierarchical and elitist allowing passive acceptance of the inequalities. Therefore, Gramsci calls for the proletariat to cultivate its own version of reality and become aware of its political project to replace capitalism.

## ***II. Class***

At the heart of Marxism lies the concept of class struggle: “freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed”, who stand in constant opposition to one another (Marx and Engels, 1948: 9). The oppressors are the owners of the means of production (the bourgeoisie) and the oppressed are the workers (the proletariat). The bourgeoisie strives to keep the cost of labour at a minimum, and the proletariat strives to sell its labour at the highest possible price. These opposing goals are the major source of conflict in a capitalist society because Marx views class from a point of view of exploitation. As a result this economic and social echelon – the material conditions of people’s lives – determines what people will know, believe, value as well as how they will behave (Ibid.). As in the societal aspect of education, these classes remain in dissonance. Primarily, the concern is while the bourgeoisie enjoys high quality education, the proletariat cannot afford access to obtaining quality education. This discord becomes an integral part of enduring inequality.

In the context of South Africa, literature suggests that a generation of Marxist intellectuals and activists emerged in the 1960s matured in the 1970s and dominated the 1980s. In the education realm of contemporary South Africa proponents that support the view that education is characterised by ‘the haves’ and ‘the haves not’ include the likes of Case, Anne, and Angus Deaton in *School Inputs and Educational Outcomes in South Africa* (1999), Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass in *Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa* (2006), Servaas van der Berg in *Current Poverty and Income Distribution in the Context of South African History* (2010) and Spaull, N. in *Poverty & Privilege: Primary School Inequality in South Africa* (2013). The essential point these authors make

relates to the fact that households with a higher income receive better quality education than poor households.

### **III. Labour**

Marx and Webber agree that schools legitimate the myth that everyone has an equal chance and those that work hard deserve the top jobs as well as superior rewards (meritocracy which is a central element in the functionalist view of education). Marx and Webber believe that in this way inequality becomes justified. In essence this view point is in contrast to the neoliberal and functionalist thought that education provides an equal platform for all individuals to development themselves and thrive in their lives. Bowles and Gintis (1976) agree with Marx and Webber in that rewards in education and occupation are based not on ability but on social background. This conflict advances into the labour market where it continues to fuel the vicious cycle of poverty by way of the fact that the low income household cannot invest in quality education for the next generation. This is a prime example of the current South African educational landscape. Nattrass and Seekings (2001) conducted a study in which it was half of the difference in racial earnings can be attributed to differences in educational qualifications. Thus, if it were possible to include a measure of the different quality of education received by white and black workers, then education would probably explain an even greater proportion of wage inequality. "Working class and middle class children come into school differentially positioned for success, and the school fails on average to give working class learners a leg up" (Hoadley, 2006: 1; Moses, 2011; Branson and Leibbrandt, 2013; Bowes, 1977).

Branson and Leibbrandt in their paper titled *Education Quality and Labour Market Outcomes in South Africa (2013)* found that the employment and earnings premiums to education level are particularly robust to the inclusion of quality measures. As a matter of fact, the researchers discovered that the coefficients on the education category variables are only reduced marginally when amongst other things the school quality as well as location of birth are controlled (*own emphasis*). Thus class has been identified as an innate factor that leads to or perpetuates inequalities in education (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992; Jonsson, Mills & Müller 1996; Persell 1977; Stromquist 2004) as well as socioeconomic status (Ellwood & Jencks 2001; Filmer & Pritchett 1999; Treiman & Yip 1989). Furthermore, the prominent "revisionist left" Apple (1992) writes against the neo-liberal ideological and political hegemony pointing out that social class is equally important to race and gender as explanatory and organizing principles of the capitalist economic system ("tryptarch" and/or tripartite). This is in contrast to the Weberian who in simple terms, viewed class from a market relations point of view. Webber derived the notion that class cannot guide a revolutionary "praxis" – as it is merely a tool of classification useful only as a description of the strata of people in terms of

status derived from various possessions such as wealth, political power, or cultural status – post-modernists approaches are of a similar point of view fuelling to notion that ‘class is dead’. Nonetheless, for Marxists, class is not an arbitrary or abstract concept. Rather, it is a verifiable feature of certain human life processes” (Burris, 1987; Greaves, Hill and Maisuria, 2007: 7). In a somewhat agreement with the Weberian perspective, Marxists point out that certainly social class is not the only factor contributing to inequality. However, class is central to the means of production and fundamental in producing and reproducing cultural and economic activities of humans under a capitalist society. Therefore the abolition of sexism and racism will not facilitate the abolition of a capitalist society as well as the capitalist social relations embedded in society.

So, in common with Karl Marx and/or Marxism, Max Weber also saw societal relationships as best characterized by conflict. However, Marx and Webber disagreed on three key points in their view of a conflict society. Firstly, whereas Marx believes that cultural ideas are moulded by the economic system, Weber argues that a culture’s economic system is moulded by its ideas. Secondly, while Marx gives emphasis to the economy as a premise of conflict between only two social classes, Weber contends that conflict is a product of multiple sources with economic conflict often being secondary to other conflicts. Thirdly, Marx envisioned that the end of conflict would be a result of the destruction of capitalism. While on the other hand, Weber contended that societal conflict will always exist, regardless of the social, economic, or political nature of society, and that it was functional because of its role in bringing disputes into the open for public debate. However, overall the theorists agree that the higher a person’s class or origin the more likely they are to attain top qualifications and a top job. See Bourdieu’s *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* (1977) about cultural capital and Bernstein in *Class, Codes and Control* (1971) about language and class.

#### ***IV. Institutions, Power and Hegemony***

Following Webber in the concept of power and Marx from the conceptualisation of a ruling class, Dahrendorf (1959) writes on the exclusive relations of authority. Here the authority relations form the super ordinate element control the behaviour of the subordinate element, creating legitimated compliance relations between the two groups. In contrast to Marxism and Weberian perspectives which hold that a certain group in society has dominant ‘power’, for Dahrendorf, society is comprised of a host of “imperatively coordinated associations” (associations in which members are subject to “imperative control” or authority). Dahrendorf also distinguishes his position from James Burham (1941) and C. Wright Mills (1956) rejecting the idea that white-collar or capitalist elites constitute the ruling class. Dahrendorf’s view relates to the idea of hegemony by view of the fact that institutions operate in a realm of authority as super ordinate and requires individuals within society to become subordinates and comply. On the other hand, Mills (1965) also writes from the

conflict theory perspective and as an expansion of the legitimately power / authority / compliance, Mills distinguishes elites and masses. For Mills, elites have power by virtue of their location in the three key institutions / structure in society namely, political, economic and military. Although Mills rejects the Marxist economic view of social conflict, and the pluralist picture by Dahrendorf, he maintains that society is made out of masses and elite that has the capacity to manipulate public opinion. Quite frankly, the argument in this study is about the super ordinate relations of authority / legitimate power as well as the elite power / influence found in the political, economic and military structures of society and how these play a significant role in the institutions of education. However, Daniel Bell (1973) disagrees with Dahrendorf's view that authority relations have become more centralised in both firms and government, arguing that the market society disperses responsibility and has production decisions guided by multiple demands of the scattered consumers.

Nonetheless, Gramsci a major theorist, whose social and political views are centred on the concept of 'hegemony', brings forth a crucial understanding of education. The point of his premise has a genesis in Marx's conception of the development and operation of the capitalist society, composed by the contradicting duality between dominant class and subordinate class; between possessors and the poor; and the capitalists and the proletariat. Gramsci agrees with Marx in relation to the conception that the class which seizes the material power also seizes the ideological<sup>2</sup> power or the power of the ideas. This kind of power is used in a subtle but pervasive manner of ideological control and manipulation that serves to perpetuate all repressive structures. Thus similar to Marx, Gramsci believed that the school system was just one part of the system of ideological hegemony in which individuals were socialized into maintaining the status quo (Gramsci, 1971; 1977; Allman, 1988; Boggs, 1976; Entwistle, 1979). Similarly, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim propagates the major function of education as the transmission of society's norms and values. On the other hand, Illich (1971) differs from the orthodox conventional liberal approach by virtue of the fact that he supports the idea of a more radical change to the education system. Illich's central divergence lies with the failure of schools to be compatible with his educational ideals. He regards schools as exploitive and oppressive institutions which indoctrinate pupils, suffocate creativity and imagination, induce orthodoxy and blur students into accepting the interests of the powerful. He sees this as hidden curriculum. Nevertheless, in spite of Althusser concluding differently from Gramsci, the theorist

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<sup>2</sup> Ideology is closely tied to the concept of power and the definition given by Anthony Giddens is probably the easiest to understand. Giddens defines ideology as "shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant groups" (Giddens 1997: 583). This kind of power legitimizes the interests of the ruling class and therefore denounces the traditional one-sided based Marxist theory of power founded on role of force and coercion as the basis of ruling class domination (see Lenin, ) influenced by the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917.



similarly argued that economic relations and the structure of education reproduce these same economic relations. Althusser agreed that education is part of the system of the reproduction of labour power, arguing that schooling is an 'ideological state apparatus'. Essentially, education in a capitalist society is a reproduction of an efficient and obedient work force. In the same way, schools work to ensure that those who are to do the work will do so co-operatively, out of a belief that the situation is just and reasonable. Based on that, the theorist puts it out that quite frankly; education is not designed to develop human potential, but to limit it. Bowles and Gintis's in *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976) supported Althusser's idea that there is a close correspondence between the social relationships in the classroom and those in the workplace.

From diversified backgrounds such as Hoadley (2007), a mathematical pedagogic practise, Bowles and Gintis (1976) or general pedagogy (Gwimbi and Monk, 2003) broader social reproduction study, Keddie (1971) more interpretive views of the differential distribution of knowledge, and texts, Dowling (1998), and the nature of mathematical problem-setting (Dunne and Cooper, 2000). Researchers have agreed and demonstrated that inequality in education has become a product of the capitalist mode of production which largely influences the social relations of society (Coleman et al. (1966). Yet contrary to this, Erik Olin Wright (1979) writing from a, egalitarian view in the Marxist tradition in his famous monograph *Class Structure and Income Determination*, has systematically attempted to bridge the gap and demonstrate to non-Marxist social scientists that Marxist categories matter, and that class is consequential for understanding society. Thus to ignore class relations in conducting research on social stratification, Wright argues, is to ignore one of the fundamental dimensions of social inequality in modern society. Furthermore, Harold Wolpe (1988) an influential scholar in social difference in South Africa argues that neither class (nor race) by itself, is capable of explaining the nature of the South African social formation and the ways in which privilege, power and position are distributed. He argues that this view suffers from insularity and reductionism leaving ample room for non-class (or non-racial) effects. Given that, literature in relation to analysing the association of education with hegemony and contextualise theory for South African institutions include authors such as Adam and Moodley (1986) in *South Africa without Apartheid*, Thompson (1985) in *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* and Christie (1986) in *The Right to Learn*. Contemporary literature comprises of the likes of Nkabinde (1990) in *Analysis of Educational Challenges in the New South Africa*; authors in M. Nkomo (1990) in *Pedagogy of Domination* as well as Kallaway, Kruss, Donn and Fataar (1997).

Marx and Engels perceived that without education the working class was condemned to lives of drudgery and death, but that with education they had a chance to create a better life. As a result, in

their famous 1848 *Communist Manifesto* the idea of public education was expanded and emphasized as an essential stepping stone for the working class. Thus in accord with Marxian socialist principles the rise of capitalist-bourgeois societies is required to produce educational institutions that reproduce dominant social relations, values, and practices. Likewise, Althusser talks of a counter-hegemony transforming capitalist societies and creating socialist ones requires new modes of education and socialization. The classical Marxian paradigm therefore sees education as functioning within the hegemonic social system which is organized by and serves the interest of capital, while calling for alternative modes of education that would prepare students and citizens for more progressive socialist mode of social organizations.

### **b) Functionalist Theory**

The functionalist perspective, also called functionalism, is amongst the major theoretical perspectives in conflictive forms of change that lead to social disharmony. It has its origins in the works of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) who wrote specifically for education in *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (1861); Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) who also wrote three works concentrating on education, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), and Robert Merton (1910-2003). Functionalism as a school of thought in the sociology of education emerged in the early twentieth century. It was the dominant paradigm in sociology and the sociology of education until the 1960s when conflict theory emerged as a significant critique and an alternative to functionalism. However in spite of that it remains one of the core perspectives of sociology.

#### **I. Society as an Organism**

Jarvie 1973 accounts that from its inception, the approach of society as an organism views society from a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole. This is a functionalist approach which believes that society has evolved like an organism or a kind of machine, where one part articulates with another to produce the dynamic energy required to make society work. Thus this view of society stresses the interdependence of the social system and with parts that are well integrated with each other so as to enable it to maintain its essential processes through the way that the different parts interacted together. The organism was able to live, reproduce and function through the organized system of its several parts and organs like a biological organism. Institutions such as religion, kinship and the economy were the organs and individuals were the cells in this social organism. Functionalist analyses examine the social significance of phenomena, that is, the *function* they serve a particular society in maintaining the whole.

For example, Durkheim is considered the most influential in terms of the development of the sociology of education. He wrote three works directly related to education in which we find the

foundation of modern sociology of education: *Education and Society* (1922), *Moral Education* (1925) and *The Evolution of Education Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development of Secondary Education in France* (1938). As a functionalist theorist, Durkheim was intrigued by the role that various social institutions play in society and essentially how they contribute to the maintenance of social order – how society remains relatively stable. In simple terms this view analyses the whole status quo of society in terms of its analytically distinguishable components and their functions. In relation to the functionalist view of education Haralambos and Holborn (2000: 1) finds that there are two related questions which have guided functionalist research into education:

The first asks ‘what are the functions of education for society as a whole? Given the functionalist view of the needs of the social system, this question often leads to an assessment of the contribution made by education to the maintenance of value consensus and social solidarity.

The second question asks ‘what are the functional relationships between education and other parts of the social system? This then leads to an examination of the relationship between education and the economic system, and a consideration of how this relationship helps to integrate the social as a whole.

What is the application of this to the topic?

## ***II. Occupation Hierarchy***

Durkheim described education as a contested social institution in society. On the one hand, education established and maintained social consensus and solidarity through its socializing function – responsible for the production of the ideal adult – but on the other hand, the self-interest of individuals and groups requires the state regulation of education. Many issues and areas of research in contemporary sociology of education are embedded in a Durkheimian’s understanding of education: “the role of merit in educational selection and attainments, the role of teachers in schools, and the study of government and private schools”, to name but a few (Saha, 2011: 301).

On the subject of education as a highly significant indicator in terms of occupational attainment and as a result holds a central place in the analysis of stratification and social mobility. This is based on the view that occupational positions require particular kinds of skilled performance and positions must be filled with persons who have either the native ability, or who have acquired necessary training for the performance of the given occupational role. Perhaps this is why a number of studies have shown that the number of years of education is a strong determinant of occupational achievement. This is particularly important in industrial society with its increasingly complex and specialized division labour (Saha, 2011). For example, in an industrial society, social solidarity is based on the interdependence of specialized skills for the manufacture of a single product. The

combination produces cooperation and social solidarity. Thus, according to Durkheim school provides both general values necessary to for homogeneity and social survival and specific skills which provide the necessary diversity for social cooperation.

Thus linking this view back to society as an organism, functionalists believe that educational inequality is inevitable based on the view that society works independently. From the angle of labour / occupation they argue that not everyone can be positioned to fill out the same vacancies. Therefore while one person fills out the top management position (such as the Managing Director/CEO/CFO position) somebody else should be taking care of the administrative role, the serving of tea as well as the cleaning role of an organisation. Thus parallel to Weber, who believed that the various class divisions in society are normal, inevitable, and acceptable, as do many contemporary conflict theorists (Curran & Renzetti, 2001); functionalists believe that inequality in education is a character trait of society that cannot be prevented.

### ***III. Equality of Opportunity***

Modern functionalists' theories of education draw their work from Talcott Parsons (1959) who believes that education is a vital part of modern society performing an important function especially with regard to equality of opportunity for all citizens. This is compatible to the works of liberal activities that see education as part of the overall struggle, in which "schools were the most important terrain for the struggle towards people's power" (Wolpe quoted in Christie, 1991: 274). On the other hand, John Dewey (1859-1952) an American educationalist and philosopher was believed to be one of the most influential proponents of the liberal view of education. Dewey from his first major work on education, *The School and Society* (1899) argued that it was the job of education to encourage individuals to develop their full potential as human beings. For Dewey, and similar educationalists, a progressive education system is a vital part of successful democracy. Since in a democracy power rests with the people it is necessary for the people to be able to think for themselves when exercising their power. Liberal education would be incompatible with a dictatorship, where free and critical thought could threaten the authority of the state. Dewey hoped that the education system he proposed would promote flexibility and tolerance, and individuals would be able to cooperate together as equals. Some liberals hope that education will help to reduce inequality. Authors arguing along these lines include Saha (2011; Haralambos and Holborn (2000) who believe that by developing the potential that exists within all human beings the stratification system would become more open. Although liberals acknowledge that there is a need for reform they believe that with relatively minor modifications education can come to play a full and successful role in industrial societies. Other modern authors arguing in the same breath are Davis and Moore (1945) who argued that inequality was necessary in all societies as this ensured

that the most talented individuals would fill the functionally most important positions. The question here would then be: What if the child is most talented but comes from a disadvantaged background that cannot afford him access to quality education and all that comes with it?

***IV. Do not stop at stating the theoretical arguments – indicate those arguing along these lines for all these theories.Criticism***

However, liberal education has come under attack from Marxist sociologists as well as right-wing politicians. For instance Marxists argue that the liberal view of education tends to ignore the inequalities in society which make liberal ideals impossible to achieve without major social changes. Marxist theory argues against functionalism's conservatism and the static nature of analysis that emphasized the contribution of social phenomena to the maintenance of the status-quo. Advocates of theory construction questioned the utility of excessively classificatory or typological theories that pigeonholed phenomena in terms of their functions (Turner and Maryanski 1991). Additionally, Interactionist theorists criticized functionalism for failing to conceptualize adequately the complex nature of actors and the process of interaction. Functionalism became dominant in American theory in the 1950s and 1960s. With time, criticism of this approach escalated resulting in its decline in the early 1970s (Saha, 2011).

## **2.9 Concluding Remarks**

Inequalities have persisted, and a highly stratified system of education in terms of social class has become entrenched. The sociology of education has provided important insights into the ways in which schools affect individuals and groups. Through an examination of the relationship between society and schools, sociologists have uncovered how educational processes affect the way people think, live, and work; their place in society; and their chances for success or failure. Placed enormous faith in the power of schools to ameliorate all types of social problems, including poverty, and has viewed schools as the central institutions for social mobility; the sociology of education provides evidence about the extent to which schools can solve social problems.

A great deal of interest is placed on how inequality translates to space. Thus Marxism and feminism are theories of power and its distribution: inequality. For instance they both provide accounts of how social arrangements of pattern disparity can be internally rational yet unjust. In Marxism one is deprived of work while in feminism one is deprived based on sexuality defines each ones conception of lack of power. All the same, the functionalists believe it is all an inevitably the functioning of society. The legacy of apartheid imposes historical constraints on the spatial distribution of income and population groups. Thus good schools are located in selected areas. The legacy of has also created unrelenting racial and socio-economic homogeneity within neighbourhoods. Therefore the

opportunity for better education is geographically correlated with land prices which correlate with school fees and social class. The inequality in accessing quality education further determines the life chances of learners.

So education imposes division amongst children/families/communities in preparation for the stratification of labour. This education conditions the child for a career of exploitation, inequality and differentials, conformity and passivity. As indicated by South African contemporary literature, the propensities of capitalist education is enabled by school fees and the neoliberal political economy. Evidence from a South African perspective best supports the conflict theory by underlining the large division between the 'haves and have not's' as a fundamental explanation in the continuing skewed access to quality education. This is validated by the fact that, although there are greater possibilities to exercise school choice in the post-apartheid environment, most children are still in schools with poor educational infrastructure often determined by their birth location and socioeconomic background.

## CHAPTER THREE

### STRUCTURAL EDUCATIONAL EQUALITIES IN MPUMALANGA: LESSONS FROM MBOMBELA'S LUPHISI

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at Luphisi a small village located in the Mpumalanga Province as a lens through which to explore and explain the difficulties encountered by educational facilities in South Africa. Special emphasis in the chapter is placed on Mbombela Local Municipality (MLM) – the province's most prosperous municipality and the municipality within which the chosen case study (Luphisi) sits – as an embodiment of the unsatisfactory access to educational facilities and services across municipal space, particularly between rural and urban schools. The chapter then zooms into the chosen case study and unpacks the structural disparities in the area by discussing the village's characteristics (which are the economic behaviour, location and its relationship with MLM's prosperous area, Mbombela / Nelspruit). With Luphisi being a relatively small village with insufficient empirical data to be adequately presented exclusively as a study area. As a result, the characteristics of the study area are either drawn from – or compared with – those of areas such as Nelspruit and/or MLM as a whole. It is argued that schools in the periphery of the Mbombela town are distinct from those in the periphery. The variation encompasses both the inputs (physical and soft resources) and the outcomes measured in matric performance. Not only that, the chapter's concluding section presents the lessons that can be drawn from the experience of Luphisi in relation to its semi-urban and urban counterparts. The central argument is that the location, morphology and character of the educational institutions in Luphisi – especially when juxtaposed with those of MLM's affluent areas – sheds light about the local authorities' attitudes towards the area as well as the future prospects of these learners.

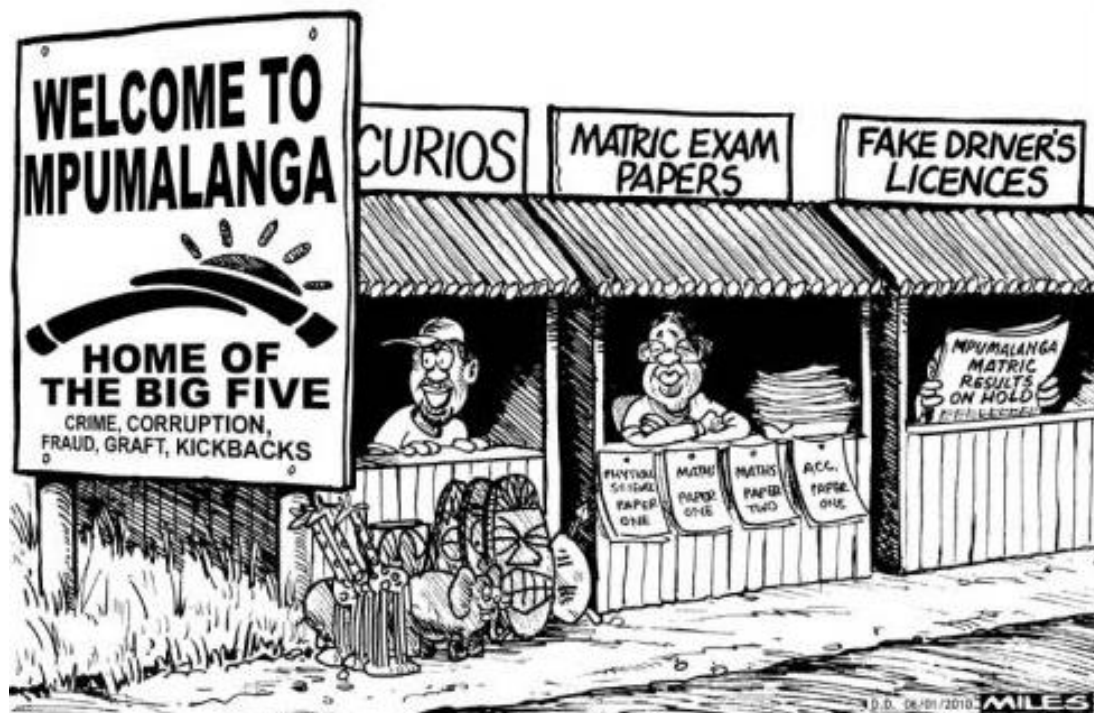
#### 3.2 Introducing Mpumalanga: A Sneak Peek into the Controversies related to Education in the Province relative to South Africa - Corruption

The second smallest province in South Africa after Gauteng (NAFCOC, 2013); Mpumalanga is a province that has, until recently, been one of the two provinces without universities in the country.<sup>3</sup> This means that until recently, the bulk of the province's tertiary students have been serviced by neighbouring provinces such as Gauteng and KwaZulu/Natal, an irony in itself especially considering the fact that the province is a significant, resource-rich player in the national economy, contributing

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<sup>3</sup> The other province is the Northern Cape Province. Mpumalanga's first-ever university, launched in 2014, is the University of Mpumalanga, located / replacing the former Lowveld College of Agriculture.

to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) more than other provinces which boasts major universities (for instance the North West and the Eastern Cape). Mpumalanga's name loosely translates to 'east' or 'place of the rising sun'. Yet, when we look at the 'shady' and fraudulent/corrupt activities that have been transpiring in the province's schools especially during examination periods over the years (Corruption Watch, 2013; SACE Annual reports, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2012/2013; Serfontein and Waal, 2015; Prinsloo, 2014; Monama, 2009; Mokoena, 2005) the researcher may be forgiven for thinking that Mpumalanga is not worthy of this beautiful 'sunny' name. The province's schools have for a long time been increasingly gaining notoriety as 'centres of examination fraud' due to countless media reports pointing to the leaking and selling of examination papers (Monama, 2009; Mokoena, 2005; Stone, 2014; Kgossana, 2005; Monama, 2009; Mokoena, 2005). A case in point was the discovery in 2004 that 61 teachers in the province were involved in examination cheating (du Plessis, 2014: 1310). The province has over the years been gaining bad reputation as the home of corrupt activities (Hyslop, 2005; Masutha and Kotzé, 2002), such as the sale of fake drivers' licenses as well as the "corruption in education" (du Plessis 2014: 1308; Kalombo, 2005; see Figure 3A below).

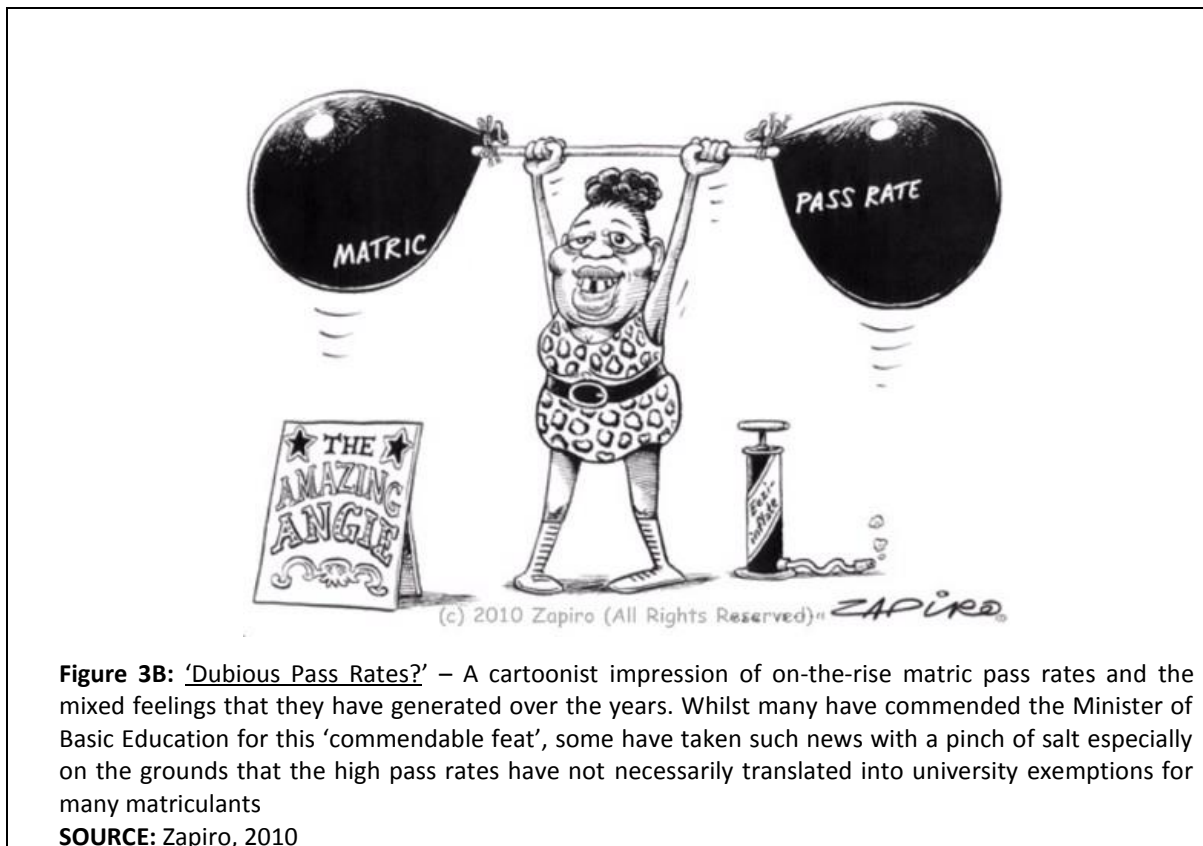


**Figure 3A: 'The Big Five Province?'** - Mpumalanga appears to have maintained its reputation as (one of) the most corrupt province(s) in the country, with examination fraud cases having been some of the most reported issues in the province.

**Source:** Miles, 2010



A closer look at the examination fraud issue in Mpumalanga: it was discovered that this activity is rife in the province's rural municipalities and/or rural schools especially bearing in mind that Mpumalanga is a largely rural province (Kuhlase and Arenstein, 2005; IDP, 2012). In fact, the researcher's site observations and interaction with the focus area's participants shed light on the actuality that the 'exam fraud' incidents have become pronounced in the province's schools so much so that during examination time, representatives from the province's Department of Education are sent to Mpumalanga's rural schools to supervise/invigilate, checking for illicit activity in the schools. Not only does this begin to point at the educational challenges in the province's rural schools; however it also makes one question why this challenge is pronounced in the rural schools than it is in the urban schools/exam centres. In cognisance of the fact that rural schools generally perform lower than urban schools (Fiske and Ladd, 2004; van der Berg, 2008; van der Berg, Taylor, Gustafsson, Spaul and Armstrong, 2011; van der Berg, 2008; Spaul, 2013; Taylor and Yu, 2009) - and given that corruption in education is more pronounced in poorer areas where public officials earn very little (du Plessis, 2014) - could the exam cheating incidents signify rural school officials' desperate attempts to increase their pass rates and thus be 'in good books' with governmental departments in the province and in the country? Is it just plain corruption for personal gain – sale of exam papers for monetary gain – by education facilitators? Or are schools in such areas desperate to mount on the provincial and national map? Is it a desperate attempt by rural schools in the province to boost their pass rates, secure bursaries, access higher institutions of learning and allow better future prospects for their matriculants in the process? Overall corruption in the education sector arguably appears as a symptom of unequal education. These people are obviously doing whatever it takes to be equal to their urban counterparts. This warrants the closer look at fraudulent activities in schools.



In light of the fact that there have been incidences of teachers and/or examiners being told to inflate marks to enable matric students to get the minimum pass percentage (30%), – could this also have been caused by the anxiety to fix the education and labour statistics in the country? Especially because this is seen as pushing learners out of the schooling realm and it implies that the country's achievement of high quantity ratios of educated black individuals suggests that the contemporary South African government's strides to educational redress are proving fruitful. A prime example was contained in a statement early 2014, by the Minister of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande, who defended the 30% pass requirement for matriculants, asking, "What do we do with those who don't get 50%?" (John, 2014). The minister said young people would miss out on post-school education opportunities if it were raised and that South Africa "was becoming a dangerously elitist country if it was considering throwing away half of our young people who did not achieve a 50% matric pass" (Ibid.). Undoubtedly quantity has become more important than quality.

The issue of corruption in examinations and inflation of mark escalates to the tertiary level of education. Learners are struggling to cope in tertiary educational level considering the standard of education received in lower rankings of education; the South African universities are struggling against the greatest pressures of masses of student wanting to be enrolled. Despite challenges such as this, the government has strongly espoused the philosophy of "massification" - flooding existing higher education institutions with enormous numbers of poorly educated, and sometimes barely

literate, previously disadvantaged students. Inevitably, taking heed of du Plessis's (2014) warning, this has negative implications for Mpumalanga and South Africa as a whole. Du Plessis (2014: 1308 – 1325) argues that corruption in education needs to be focused on now more than ever because its impacts and implications have long been overlooked warning against corruption in the educational and academic sphere on the basis that:

Corruption is a major drain on the effective use of resources for education and should be drastically curbed. Corruption in education is particularly damaging because it endangers a country's social, economic and political future. Corruption in education is more detrimental than corruption in other sectors because of its long-term effects. Corruption threatens equal access quantity and quality of education. Its consequences are particularly has for the poor who, without access to education or with no alternative but low-quality education, have a little chance to escape a life of poverty. Corruption is incompatible with one of the major aims in education – producing citizens that respect the law and human rights. If children come to believe that personal effort and merit do not count and that success comes through manipulation, favouritism and bribery, then the very foundations of society are shaken. [...] Corruption in education can have a devastating effect on a country's wellbeing. Perhaps the highest cost of corruption in education is loss of trust. If learners or students come to believe that school or university admission and marks can be bought, a country's economic and political future is in jeopardy. Corrupt practices at schools and universities directly contradict the concept of human rights, solidarity and the public good; destroying the trust necessary to the development of countries.

We need to turn our attention to the youths/students of Mpumalanga - and the whole of South Africa - particularly those marginalised, 'forgotten' and/or exam corruption-ridden schools - and ask ourselves what the academic and economic future holds for them. More importantly, we wonder what the provincial and national governments are doing to address such challenges and controversies in the province as well as in the country. These sentiments become particularly pressing especially considering the status quo in education, for instance the indicators currently being used to gauge pass rates nationally. As previously pointed out that in South Africa, the matric pass rate is an accepted indicator of schools' performance, progress in education is thus measured by pass rates rather than the quality of education itself; and standards have been reduced in the quest for the accomplishment of higher pass rates.

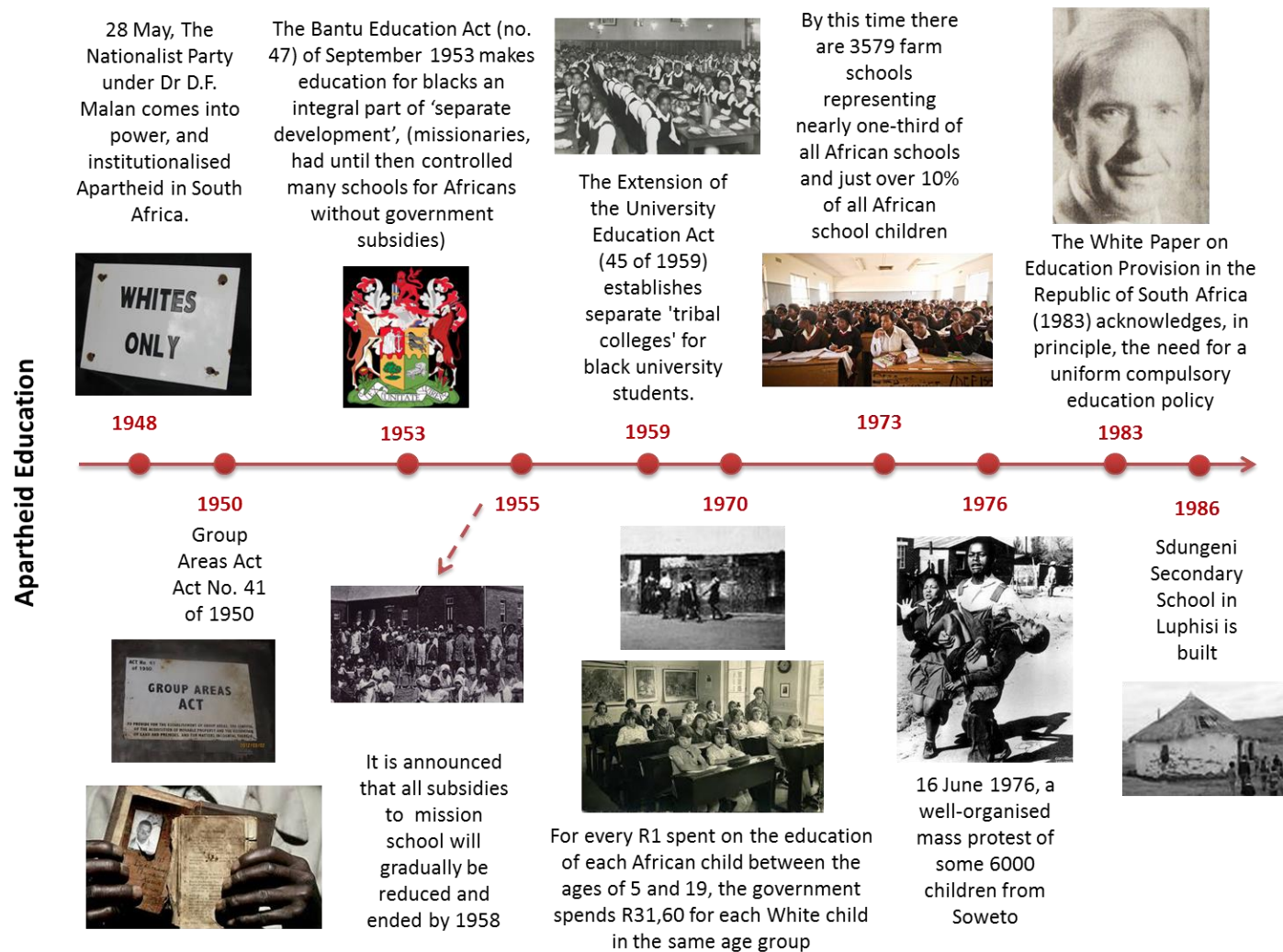
According to Parker (2012) the proud Minister of Basic Education – Angie Motshekga – announced a "remarkable achievement" of 67.8% of students that passed the 2010 exams, achieving a 7.2%

increase on the previous year. The matric pass rate has since been mounting reaching 70.2% in 2011 (but counteracted by full-time 75.7% of candidates failing to achieve university-entrance passes), and 78.2% in 2013 (see Figure 3B). We then wonder what this means and how it was achieved. Whilst some have praised the Minister of Education for such an achievement, many are not moved by this achievement on the part of the DoE and have concluded that the results are an unreliable indicator of quality and equality (see Macfarlane, 2014). For instance, Umalusi, the state's own quality assurer which endorses both the Independent Examinations Board (IEB) and public schools – argues that pass rates are unreliable in themselves as it happens. In fact The Mail and Guardian (2009) discloses that senior education officials allegedly instructed teachers to inflate matric results by boosting results from 20% to 30%, which is considered a pass, thus corruption in education as would be argued by du Plessis (2014). In the context of the study, very important to note is the actuality that Mpumalanga province is the frontrunner re this type of fraudulent activity.

### **3.3 An Over-Simplified Trajectory of Education in South Africa**

Reforms of education have been an integral part of the economy of South Africa. Over and above that, it qualifies as a means to correct the apartheid educational injustices which was also tightly linked to the economy of the regime and its political views. Consequently, education in the new South Africa receives the highest rates of public investment exceeding all other countries in the world – spending more on education than on any other sector – so as to promote and support changes that meet the needs of both the new economy and society and the interests of all people. In the 2013 budget, more than R23 billion was budgeted to beef up schools' infrastructure and the increasing number of non-fee schools. The 2014 budget set aside up to 20% of government expenditure amounting to R254 billion for the education sector. Clearly, the contemporary Zuma administration seems committed to education reform and using education as a means to eradicating structural inequalities. Moreover, the South African Department of Education has implemented several indigent policies in an attempt to surmount the inhibiting costs of accessing schools most notably that of declaring approximately 60% of schools fee-free. Depending on their household conditions, children receive full or partial fees exemption. In addition, pro-poor financing policies redistribute government expenditure in favour of the poorest schools. Alongside these efforts, today, all South Africans have the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and further education. Therefore South Africa has made progress in the area of education since transformation began in 1994. Moreover, against all efforts conveyed by the democratic government towards educational transformation, an array of challenges has been present. In order to understand the order/chronology of historical events and to convey a sense of change over time

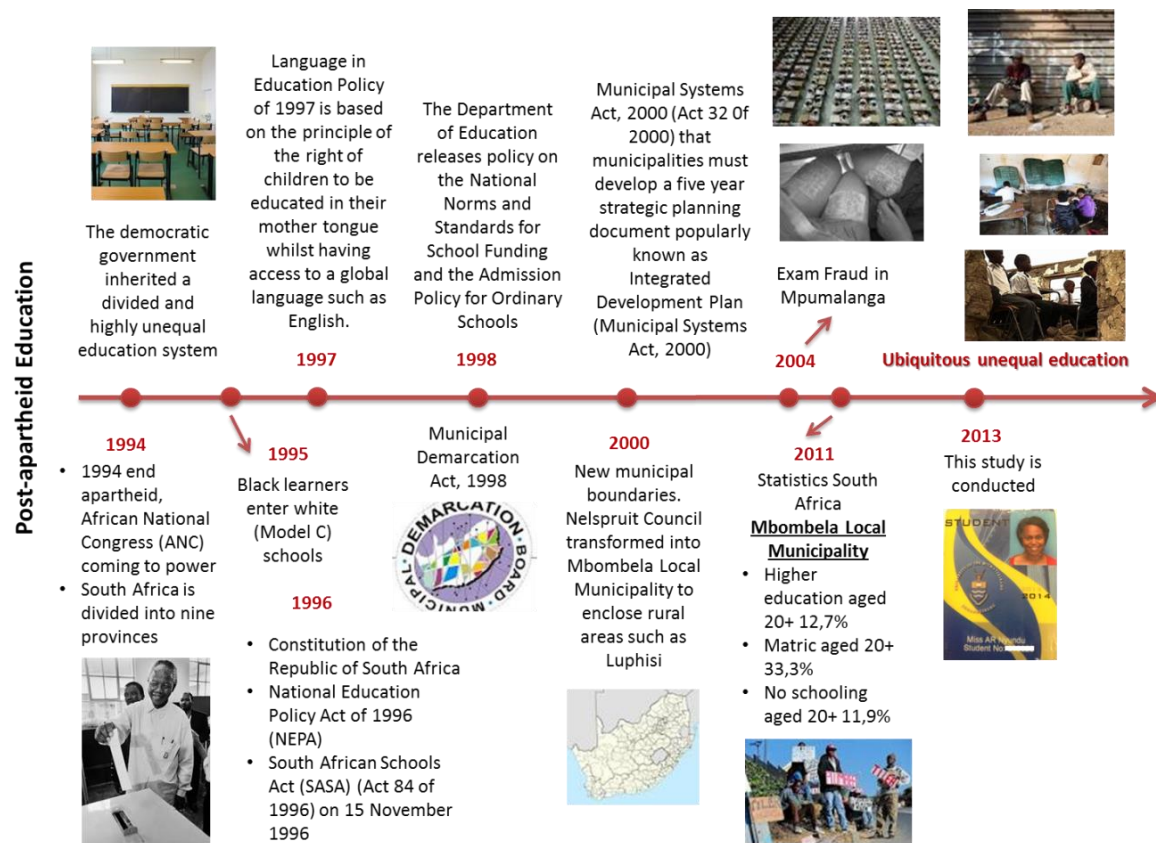
in the subject of education – in relation to this study – a timeline has been presented as a summary of what comprises this study (see Figure 3C and 3D).



**Figure 3C:** Pre 1994 – A Few Significant Events Forming the Bedrock of South Africa's Unequal Education Landscape – including Luphisi

*"I have to re-affirm that the transformation of the education and training system has only begun. Our task is to bring redress, establish quality, open the doors of opportunity, enable a true culture of learning and teaching to take root, strive for ever higher levels of performance..."*

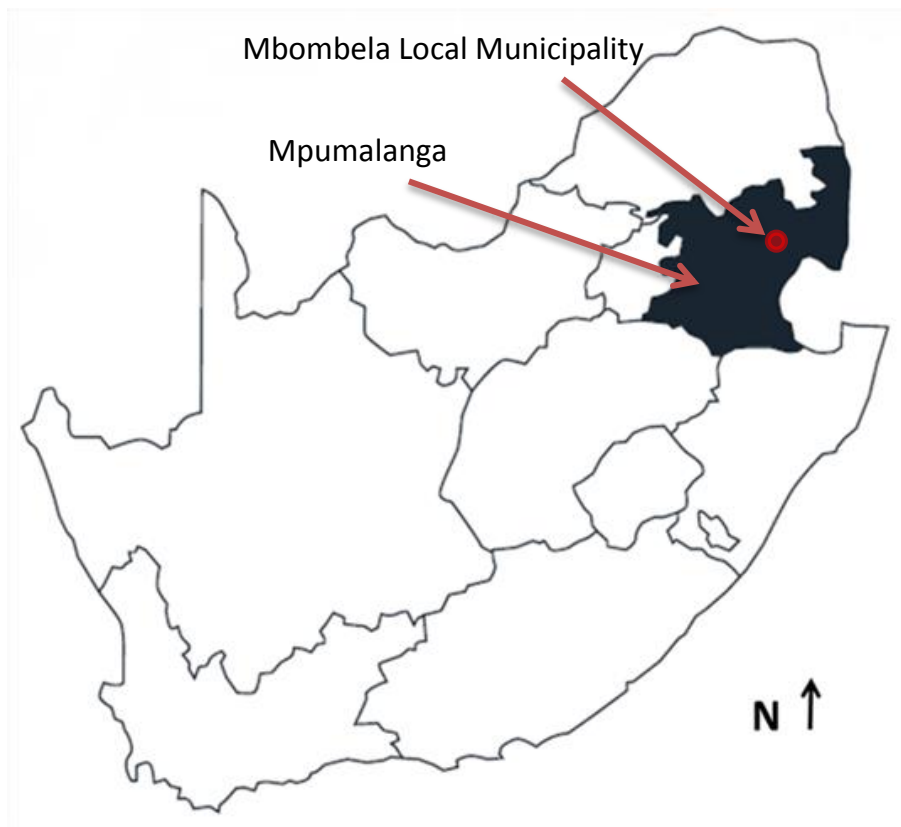
Sibusiso Bengu, Minister of Education Budget Vote Address, National Assembly 25 May 1995



**Figure3D:**Events Pertaining to Educational Redress and Reconstruction and the Ubiquitous Unequal Education

### 3.4 Mbombela in the Context of Mpumalanga: Locality, Economy & Characteristics

#### 3.4.1 Introducing Mbombela and Mpumalanga – Geographic Location and Characteristics



**Map 3A: 'Mbombela and Mpumalanga relative to South Africa' (\*Map not to scale)**

Arguably Mpumalanga's most prosperous municipality and/or municipal city; Mbombela Local Municipality is bordered by ThabaChewu Local Municipality (to the west), Nkomazi Local Municipality (to the east), Swaziland (to the south) and Mozambique (to the north east). The pride of Mpumalanga, Mbombela comprises the province's premier city – Nelspruit - and it is a considerably important tool towards the overall growth of the country (MLM, 2013; Adam and Moiler, 2003). It is one of the 26 centres marked as worthy of economic and physical infrastructural investment by the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) and it is one of the cities that contribute and benefit directly from the Maputo Development Corridor (hereafter the MDC). The MDC is an important instrument to support economic integration by way of opening up markets and promoting enhanced regional/international trade and investment. Bowland and Otto (2012: 1) perceive of the MDC as the "largest and most successful development corridor initiative thus far in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, if not within Africa as a whole." Promoted through



a Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) comes into view here as not just a 'rite of passage' so to call it, however it has paved way for tangible developments such as infrastructure, as a strategy on the part of the South African government to ensure that goods are transported to Maputo – which is the nearest port city to Gauteng (the economic heartland of South Africa) – to reach overseas markets speedily and cost effectively. Landlocked and with a large commodity export base, Mpumalanga is seen as the primary beneficiary of the MDC and, using the N4 route from Pretoria through Nelspruit central business district benefits Mbombela in numerous ways (ibid.). This may partly explain the good condition of roads leading to Maputo as worth writing home about; whilst the rest of the infrastructure - including schools - is in tatters. This of course does not disregard the fact that the province comprises areas that were marginalised during the previous regime as they formed part of homelands/bantustans (King, 2006). Thus, for a province with a population of 4 039 939, whose majority of inhabitants reside in rural areas and continue to be marginalised economically and are dependent on social grants and remittances (Elsenburg, 2005), surely investments should largely be directed to these lagging areas because former homelands have a distinctly disadvantaged socioeconomic landscape.

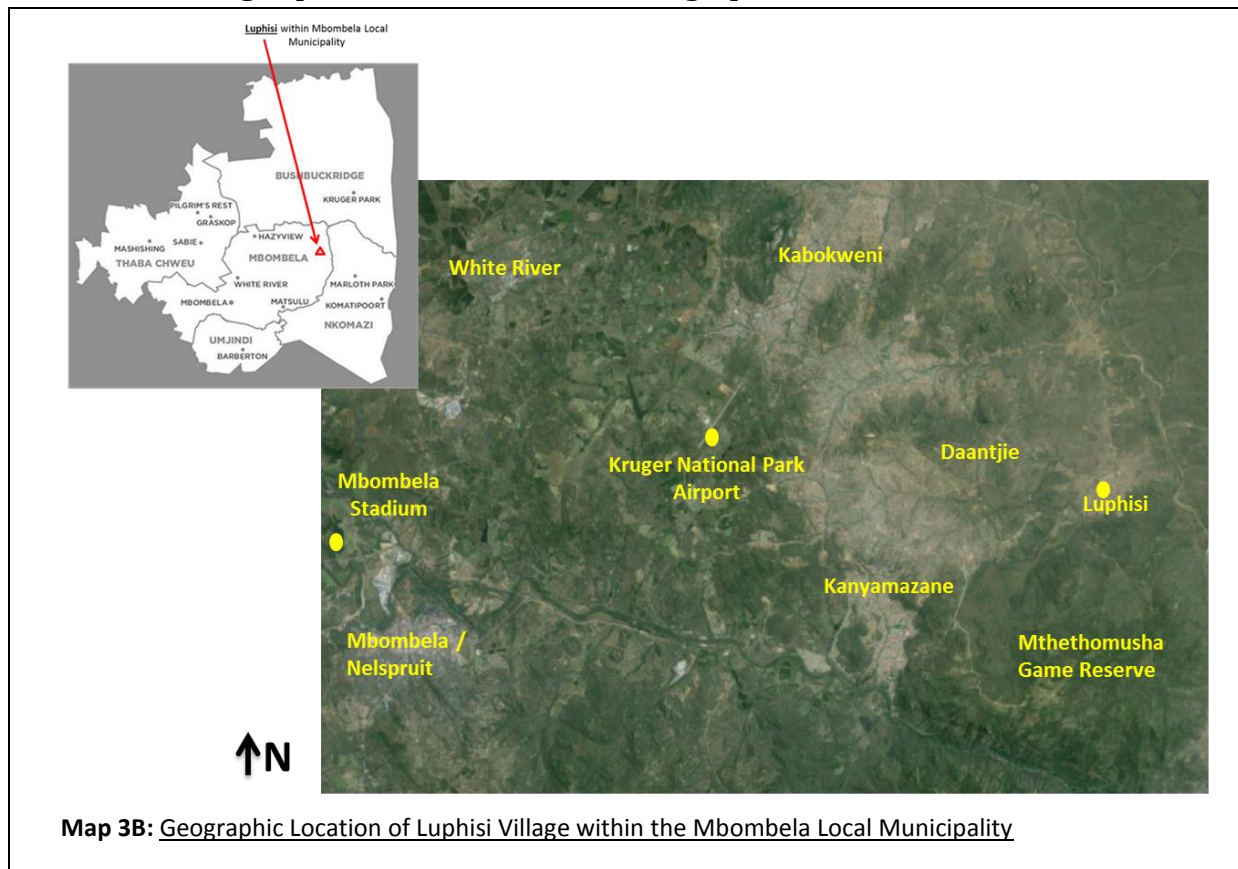
Essentially, even though there is a steady economic contribution from the capital city to the overall growth of the province, unequal opportunities continue to represent the foremost challenge we have in the country in terms of social inclusion and economic marginalisation – which happens to be a significant feature of our space economy. A prime factor is made visible in the employment sector of the province. The DBSA (undated) reports that the wholesale and community services industries are the largest employers in the province accounting for 24.3% and 19.4% respectively of the labour market. The youth is mainly employed in the community services, wholesale and private households (domestic workers) industry. The report also notes that a considerable 35-64 age cohort is also employed in the wholesale industry. These statistics are a significant reflection of the fact that these industries do not require particular skills and/or educational qualifications in order for people to be employed in them. However, these figures illuminate the worrying situation of education in the province. For example, the 2007 Community Survey reported an estimated 23% of the population had no schooling. Although through sizeable efforts this figure has declined and recent figures from the Statistics South Africa Census (2011) show 14% of the population are with no schooling, Mpumalanga remains the province with the highest functional illiteracy rates (SSA, 2011).

This is undoubtedly worrisome in view of the province's overall economic base and national growth share. This situation poses serious questions because in contrast to the disappointing characteristics of employment, Mpumalanga is rich in resources rich in coal reserves, hence the presence of huge

power stations, and besides coal the province benefits from agriculture. Best performing sectors in the province include mining and manufacturing contributing 1.1% and 0.7% to the provincial Gross Domestic Product (GDP) respectively. However, the province remains characterised by the unrelenting large-scale challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality (MEGDP, 2011). Evidently, the Department of Finance (2013 as cited in Statistics South Africa's Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS), Mpumalanga ranked the third highest in unemployment among all nine provinces, with a staggering 29.4%, which is higher than the national average of 25.2%. That having been said, the city's total economic output as well as the growth of individual sectors of the economy is failing to positively correlate with employment and economic opportunities. As a result, this situation maximally echoes the arguable base of economic growth which is education. The lack of quality education is prohibiting change in the landscape of the economy and unequal opportunities. Over and above that, as many areas are left behind in this marathon towards socioeconomic growth, primarily because 'they do not qualify to be invested in'; the standard of education continues to be a sign of the standard of the economy in which it is based.

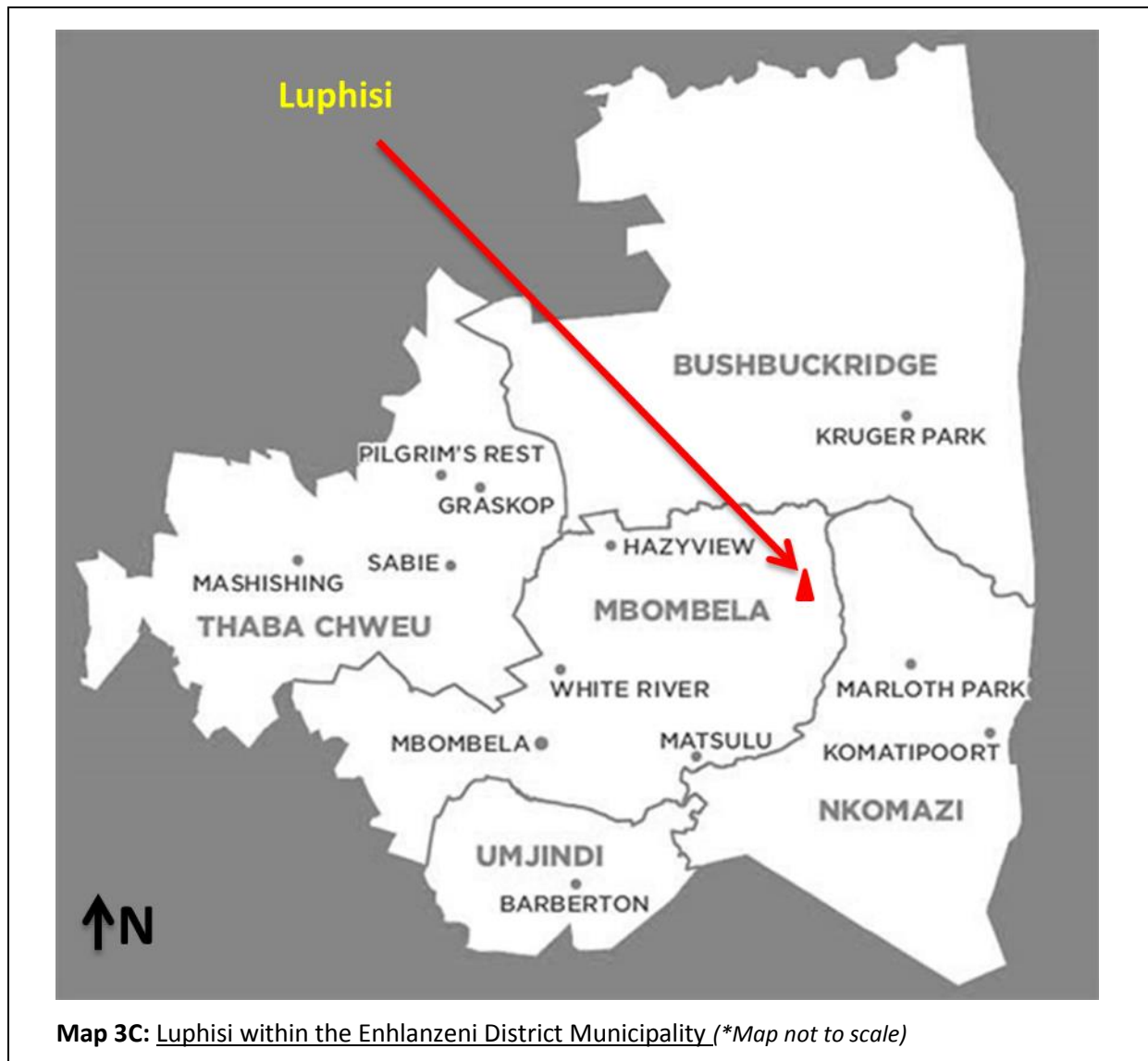
### 3.5 Lumphisi in the Context of Mbombela

#### 3.5.1 Introducing Lumphisi within Mbombela – Geographic Location and Characteristics



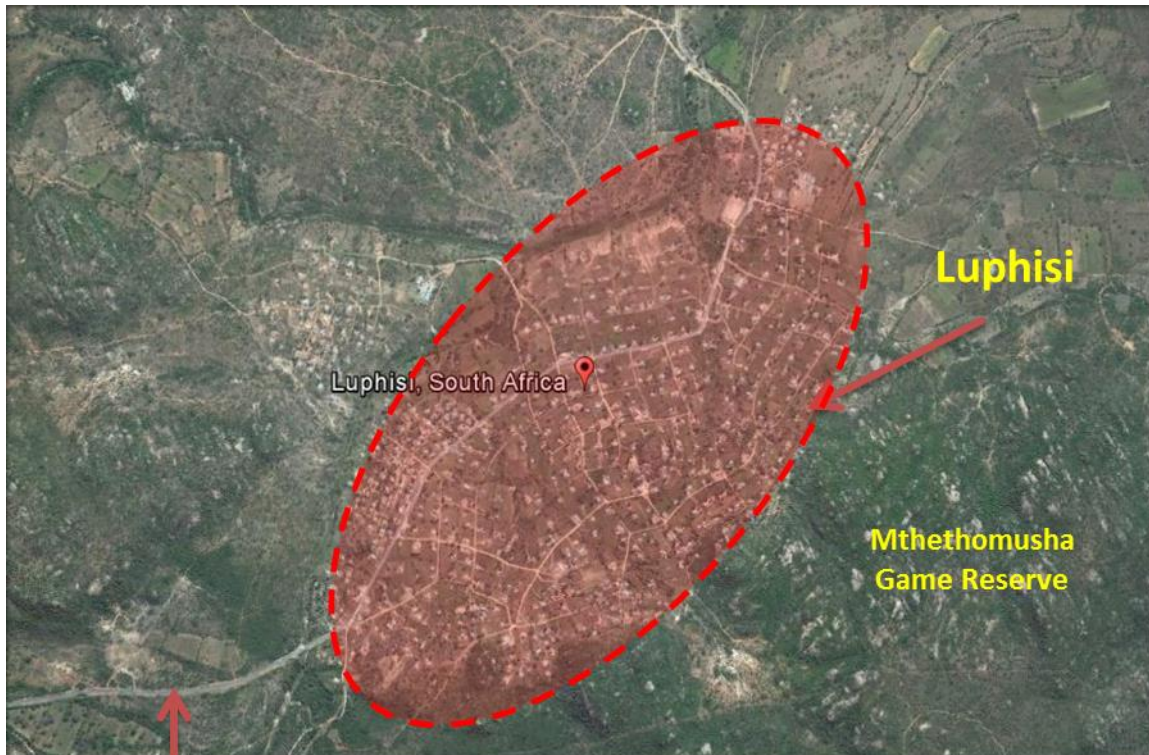
According to Statistics South Africa (2011), the municipality expanse is ranked fifth against all South African local municipalities with an estimated population of 588,794, with approximately 2,11% growth rate from a previous estimated population of 476,903 in the 2001 Census. Similar to most cases, the Mbombela Local Municipality's Annual Report (2010/11) reasons that contributing factors to this growth could be the fertility and mortality rates, migration and influx to increasing residential and business development in the Municipality. Within the Mpakeni Tribal Authority area, where Luphisi is located, Daantjie is the largest and most urban in nature with relatively good infrastructural development. Daantjie makes up 86% while Luphisi makes up 8% of the total population in the area. However, the Luphisi community's population is increasing at an alarming rate and the influx of people from neighbouring countries and villages places an extra strain on the already scarce resources. The Swazi speaking village of Luphisi has a population of approximately 6,000 people (Burns and Barrie, 2009) in contrast to the 2011 Census reports that the village has a population of 2,911 (with 791.19 per km<sup>2</sup>), encompassing 747 (203.03 per km<sup>2</sup>) households, and neighbouring Mpakeni comprises estimated 4,500 residents – rural split.

Nevertheless, Mbombela is an expanding city – parallel to numerous growing peri-urban settlements – with a growing tourist base, solidified in part by its close proximity to Kruger National Park within the Ehlanzeni District Municipality of which Mbombela is a part (Adams and Moiler, 2003). Even though the city is quickly developing and predominately urban in nature (MLG, undated), it still comprises poverty-stricken rural regions in the eastern parts of the municipality (Bender and Gibson, 2010). It is amongst these disadvantaged areas on the eastern mountainous periphery of Nelspruit that the community of Luphisi is located. Luphisi falls under the Mpakeni Tribal Authority within the managerial administrative zone Nelspruit B in the administrative Ward 10 which encompasses Sipelanyane and a part of Clau-Clau (SDF, 2012), it nonetheless benefits from Daantjie in terms of proximity and accessibility to several social facilities.



Statistics South Africa (2011) records that Luphisi covers an area of approximately 3.68 km<sup>2</sup> and as one of several villages scattered around the edges of the 8000-hectare Mthethomusha Reserve, situated is some 50km east of the Mbombela town of Mbombela (Burns and Barrie, 2009). On the one hand, the villages' proximity to the Mthethomusha Reserve perhaps in more ways than one, indicates that the village has much potential growth that needs to be unlocked. On the other hand, the location of the peri-urban areas and its distance from the city explicates the reason why the South African society has maximally been conceptualised spatially in dualistic terms – and it warrants the pervasive and systematic barriers that were created by the previous government to ensure a separation between races.

Figure 3H below is a sample illustrating the haphazard spatiality / nature of the settlements of rural Luphisi which is a different spatiality from urban areas which usually consist of gridiron pattern.



**Figure 3E:** ‘Luphisi Entrance’ – Scattered Houses over the Mountainous Landscape.

### 3.5.2 Dualisms in Spatial and Structural Configurations between Rural Luphisi and Mbombela

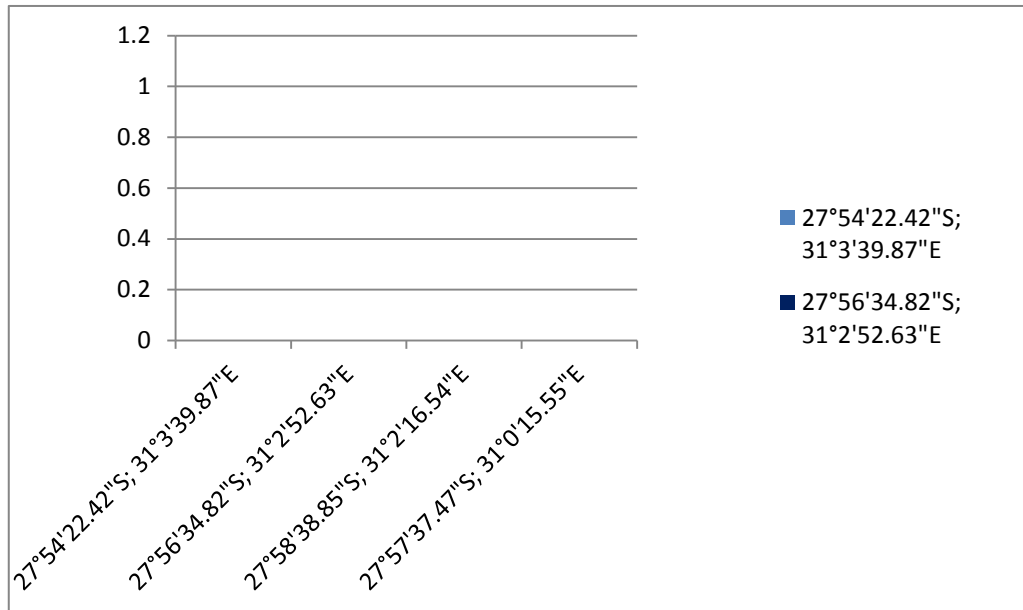
Ramogayane (2000: 53) notes that the variations between the rural and urban places are in the “levels of socioeconomic development, quality and standard of infrastructure and services”. And, regardless of the incorporated administrative structures, from observation, Luphisi’s living conditions and quality of life have not improved; the area remains characterised by poor material conditions. The structural realities of Mbombela in conjunction with the neighbouring peri-urban



areas glaringly reveal the stark local dualisms in spatial fragmentation and economic exclusion. In view of that, the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) (2012) echoes the findings of the 2010 Mbombela Corridor Modelling Market Study, in highlighting the settlement disparities within Mbombela. The framework affirms that approximately 87% of the total Mbombela Local Municipality resides in the peri-urban areas in the east of Mbombela. The area is also known as the Nsikazi area. The remaining 10% resides in the Nelspruit-White River Corridor and 3% residing elsewhere in Mbombela. These figures are a manifestation of the apartheid spatial planning approach which was centred upon geographical manipulation in order to maintain white superiority through the detriment of the so called black inferior. The 87% is a reflection of the black people positioned in labour reserves areas, rural areas, while the remaining 13% is a representation of the white people located typically well serviced urban areas. For example, the Nsikazi area houses approximately 17.7% of existing industrial, office, trade and other building space, while the Nelspruit-White River/Rocky Drift/Riverside corridor houses 82.3 per cent of existing building space. 50% of the latter is located in Nelspruit. In agreement with these figures Manikela (2008) points out that the former KaNgwane Homeland remains in the periphery and economically marginalised. However, further highlights that there has been a considerable expansion in these non-formalised settlements which happens either informally or alarmingly formally through the delivery processes of the low-cost houses which are a manifestation of 'unplanned formality'.

### **3.5.3 'Getting by': Livelihood Strategies in Luphisi, Interdependencies with Mbombela**

Moreover, the unequal relationship between the town of Mbombela and the surrounding poor rural areas is mirrored by the unemployment face. According to Statistics South Africa 2014, the unemployment figure in Mbombela is approximated to be 28,1% from a figure of 22837 economically active. 37,6% is particularly in the age bracket of 15-36 years, and the dependency ratio is estimated at 51,6% (see Figure 3F). More importantly though, is the fact that the Mbombela Local Municipality's 2010/11 Annual Report finds that the highest unemployment is experienced in Nelspruit B, which consists of Hazyview and the Nsikazi area – which includes Luphisi – these areas live to tell the tale of unemployment and the undesirable social conditions within which they live.



**Figure 3F:** 'Employment Statistics' – Job Distribution amongst the Economically Active in Mbombela.  
**Source:** Statistics South Africa, 2013)

Given the fact that as with poverty, the rural areas have significantly higher unemployment rates than those in the town of Mbombela (McDonald and Ruiters, 2005), Luphisi illuminates the dire poverty and unemployment levels largely experienced by numerous rural areas in South Africa. The Commonwealth Foundation (2004), using research from Census 1996, also recorded that the rural areas have considerably higher unemployment figures. For example, it records that KaNyamazane accounted for 30.89%, Matsulu 36.31, Daantjie 33.15, Luphisi 31.78, while Mbombela accounted for about 6%. These conditions remain a problem in Luphisi. A prime example: 68% of the Luphisi populace live below the poverty line with an unemployment rate of 37%. The researchers find that the average household income there is R400.00 (Four Hundred Rand) and each household has approximately 8 members (Burns and Barrie, 2009). Although it is difficult to accurately calculate the costs of unemployment for a society the basic impacts results in low living standards, loss of skills and compromised confidence in individuals.

The relationship between the informal economy in Luphisi and poverty is certainly clear. Income and formal employment levels in this community are low therefore a high preponderance of people resort to working in the informal sector while the rest of the inhabitants depend on pastoral farming activities. The role of the informal economy in employment provision and generation and its function as a buffer between employment and unemployment is therefore very important. That is why rural entrepreneurship can be considered as one of the solutions to reduce poverty, develop

employment, and reduce migration and crime. As an activity that appears to resolve many challenges, the informal economy positively impacts the lives of Luphisi villagers. The scope and scale of these businesses provide and form an integral part of the coherence of village life. The businesses have a significant role in the creation of livelihood opportunities and alleviating poverty in Luphisi.



**Figure 3G:** 'Micro-entrepreneurialism' - Livelihood and Business Activities in Luphisi

### 3.5.4 Service Delivery Dynamics and Social Conditions in Luphisi

Statistics South Africa (2013) emphasises that these are largely unplanned settlements and most of these settlements are under Tribal Authorities<sup>4</sup>, secluded from the core urban area, geographically and socioeconomically representing the homeland. These areas remain a representation of apartheid planning, characterised by a lack of economic and social opportunities and, insecure forms

<sup>4</sup>There are nine Traditional Authorities situated in the eastern Nsikazi area – representing the disadvantaged majority of the inhabitants of the municipality. These Traditional Authorities are Gutshwa, Lomshiyo, Masoyi, Mbuyane, Mdluli, Mpakeni, Msogwaba, Nkambeni and Kgarudi (SDF, 2012; Manikela, 2008).



of land tenure. In the midst of a lack of spatially coordinated developments, the settlements are also insufficient in terms of engineering service delivery and inconvenient in terms of travelling long distances between residence and work/shopping places barring a vast backlog in service delivery.

The area is characterised by low density, informality and, poverty is reflected by the different housing typologies present (see Figure 3K). Undoubtedly the area is underdeveloped, however there are a few households that seem to be improving and this is reflected by the housing upgrades.



**Figure 3H: 'Different Housing Typologies in Luphisi'**

Statistics South Africa (2011) documents 161 773 households in the municipality with an average household size of 3,5 persons per household. 37,1% of these households have access to piped water inside the dwelling and 27,6% have water in their yard. More than one in five (22,1%) of households do not have access piped water. Statistics for electricity infrastructure have improved to 90,2%. However, though the figures of access are improving, the functionality of the access has different indicators all together. For example, the 2012 IDP notes that Luphisi has water infrastructure but, it yields no water. The report also notes that although there is a need for additional boreholes, the ones already sited are not working due to the lack of electricity. This means the estimated 22,1% of households with no access to piped water is larger when considering whether the water does run out or not.

Nevertheless, due to the fluctuating availability of running water for those who can afford in yard taps, or those who access water from communal taps, residents largely rely on Jojo tanks for storing and accessing water efficiently (see Figure 3L). Again this shows that the area largely remains

underdeveloped and the local municipality is failing to improve living conditions by mere effective service delivery.

Consequently, the majority of households in the area do not have flush toilets; they rely on 'long-drop' toilets which the IDP has noted as inaccessible for other households (see Figure 3K). These toilets validate the lack of service delivery with regards to both water and sewer infrastructure; the fact that Lumphisi is essentially a village/rural area although recognised as an area within the municipality's jurisdiction; as well as the unfavourable social conditions in which the residents of Lumphisi live/endure. Over and above that, this situation perhaps raises serious questions about the local government's capacity and political will to fully incorporate previously disadvantaged areas into the inclusive landscape of the new South Africa – dealing with the stark spatial and structural inequalities of the past. And, if basic infrastructure remains imaginary, where does this out education?



**Figure 3I: Jojo Tanks used for Water and Toilets**

Accessibility plays a major role in the socioeconomic development of the region. Accessibility offers the community levels of mobility and affects the development levels of communities. In the Mpakeni Tribal Area, accessibility varies depending on the village. Daantjie has a relatively well integrated network of tarred main roads linking it to Kanyamazane and Nelspruit and, with main good gravel

roads linking Daantjie to Luphisi and Mpakeni. The villages -Luphisi included- are the most geographically isolated of the villages in that area, with only one road that leads in and out of the villages.

The 2013/2014 IDP finds that there is a need for tarring of main streets, paving and maintenance of, and a need for a footbridge as well as a need for a storm water drainage system. In terms of transport, the area's public transport is provided for by means of buses and commuter omnibuses (taxis). Due to affordability and reliability issues, most people use buses. These buses are notable in the peak hours of the morning transporting commuters to work and in the evening as they return home. With Luphisi's socioeconomic standing, demonstrated in large part by the lack of economic activities, lack of liveliness and scarcity of public transport in the area – it becomes clear that few people frequent the (rural) area.



**Figure 3J:** 'Roads to and within Luphisi' – The different Road and Street Typologies in Luphisi

The Mpumalanga province as a whole is among regions that have reported that their health institutions are in dire straits. That having been stated, it is therefore unquestionable that the 2012 IDP notes a need for improved health infrastructure in Mbombela. The plan specifically notes a need for an additional new clinic and additional staff in Luphisi. As with many African villages, the HIV/AIDS prevalence in Luphisi is considerably high with roughly 27% of the population having contracted it; and at least seven out of ten babies being born in the community with the disease (Barns and Barrie, 2009). There are clinics in neighbouring areas, and there is easy access to regional hospitals such as Rob Ferrera Hospital in Nelspruit and Themba Hospital in Kabokweni. Yet although,

for a long period the nearest permanent clinic for the residents of Luphisi was in Daantjie, where patients dealt with challenges of the lack of reliable transportation and crowding issues, the area now has its own clinic. Still, it is important to note that the Luphisi clinic is very small, with a significant shortage of staff and resources as well as dilapidated infrastructure (see Figure 3L). In addition, crowding issues caused by the clinic's size is exacerbated by patients from neighbouring areas. These patients flee from the same challenges in their areas hoping Luphisi be better as an isolated village, the queues are relatively short.



**Figure 3K:** Luphisi Clinic – Dilapidated Infrastructure

**Source:** Mpumalanga News, 2014

Accordingly, the municipality identifies pressing development needs along the spatial dispersal of investment in central-place or nodal facilities such as schools, clinics, multi-purpose centres, transport and telecommunications. It is clear that Nelspruit itself exhibits an urban structure that contains a well-serviced previously 'white' developed core which provides numerous opportunities for this section of the population; whilst the peri-urban settlements continue to illustrate the historical isolation and prejudice in service delivery (Adams and Moiler, 2003; Manikela, 2008).

### **3.5.5 Structural Educational Inequalities in Mbombela: A Juxtaposition of Educational Facilities in Luphisi and Nelspruit**

In an increasingly growing and integrated municipality such as Mbombela, we would expect the redistribution of resources to be bordering on equality. However, the location of people continues to determine the opportunities afforded to local people. The spatial disparities within the Mbombela spatial organisation translate to school allocation, educational experience as well as post-education

opportunities as well as experiences. Whilst Mbombela is predominantly urban in nature, it cannot escape the spatial and economic disparities characterising the overall landscape of the country. Given Mbombela's proximity to neighbouring countries, increasing development due in large part to the housing of Nelspruit, and preferred destination for many tourists to Mpumalanga; we would expect it to have a more or less even distribution of amenities across space. Yet, that is far from being the case.

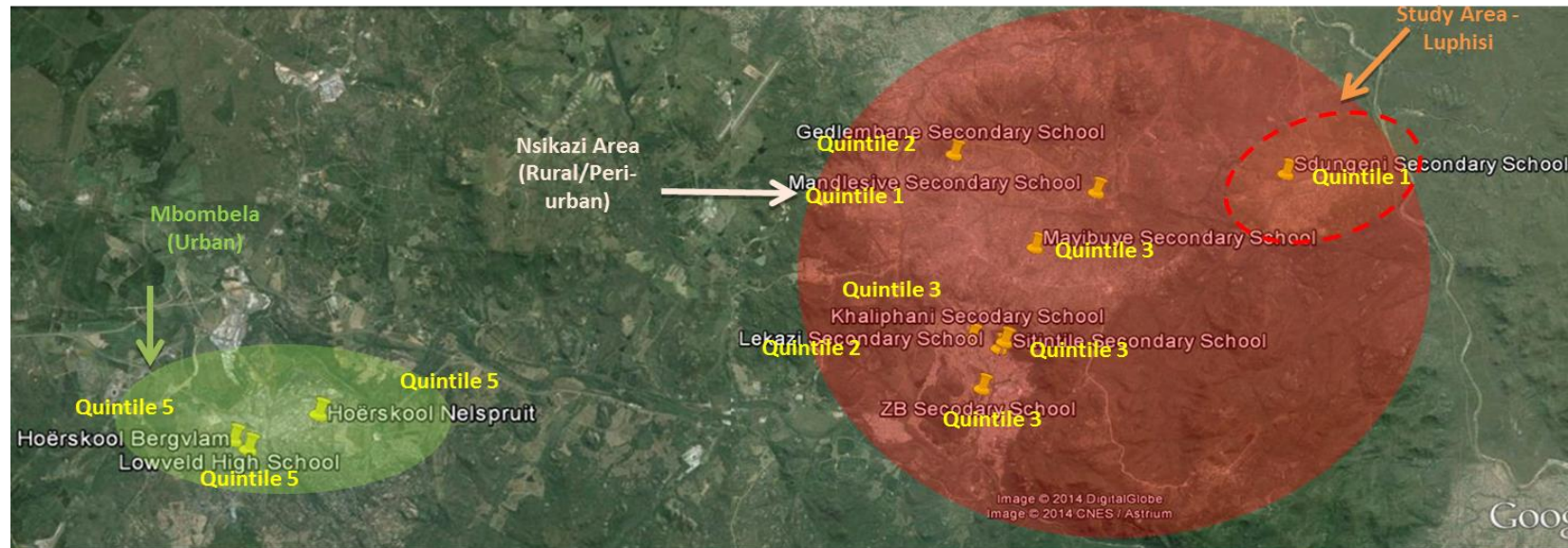
In fact, in a recent event, during the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Ruth First lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, heavy emphasis was placed on education and the inequalities that are still widely experienced in South Africa. Irvin Jim – General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers – lamented that “the black working class has largely been ignored when it comes to education in South Africa.” This view is of vital importance to this study because the argument presented is that rural areas predominately inhabited by the black working class still receives the harsh end of the stick in terms of quality education. The significance of this lies with the fact that unequal education is represented spatially and it reveals more deprivations that seem to be correlated with location.

The correlation between education and wealth persists as a vital challenge that manifests in matric pass rates, where learners from a low socio-economic background or schools in disadvantaged areas tend to perform much worse in their end of year examinations than students from affluent areas (Spaull, 2013; van der Berg, 2008; Crouch and Mabogoane, 2001). There is a plethora of studies that use socio-economic data for educational prediction (Crouch and Mabogoane, 2001; Burger and van der Berg, 2003) and these studies validate this dualistic nature of education. This according to Naidoo, Eeden and Munch (2014) draws a great deal of public interest since the matric pass rate is seen as a major public indicator of school performance.




For example, there remain financial difficulties, shortage of teachers, and lack of school buildings, laboratory equipment, computers, and libraries in Nsikazi schools, whilst schools in Mbombela are furnished with all of the above including Olympic size sports fields as well as swimming pools. The local infrastructures of education system eliminate equal opportunity in education and so the level of benefit from education differs between learners enrolled in Mbombela and Nsikazi. It is important to keep in mind that, although basic education is secured by law, there are some differences in practices of education based on various variables such as location and socio-economic status. The quality of rural schools could not compare with urban schools. The physical conditions of the rural schools are not good and the quality and the effectiveness of education depend on qualitative variables such as the availability of educational technology and instructional materials; characteristics of schools, teachers and classrooms, as well as quantitative variables such as



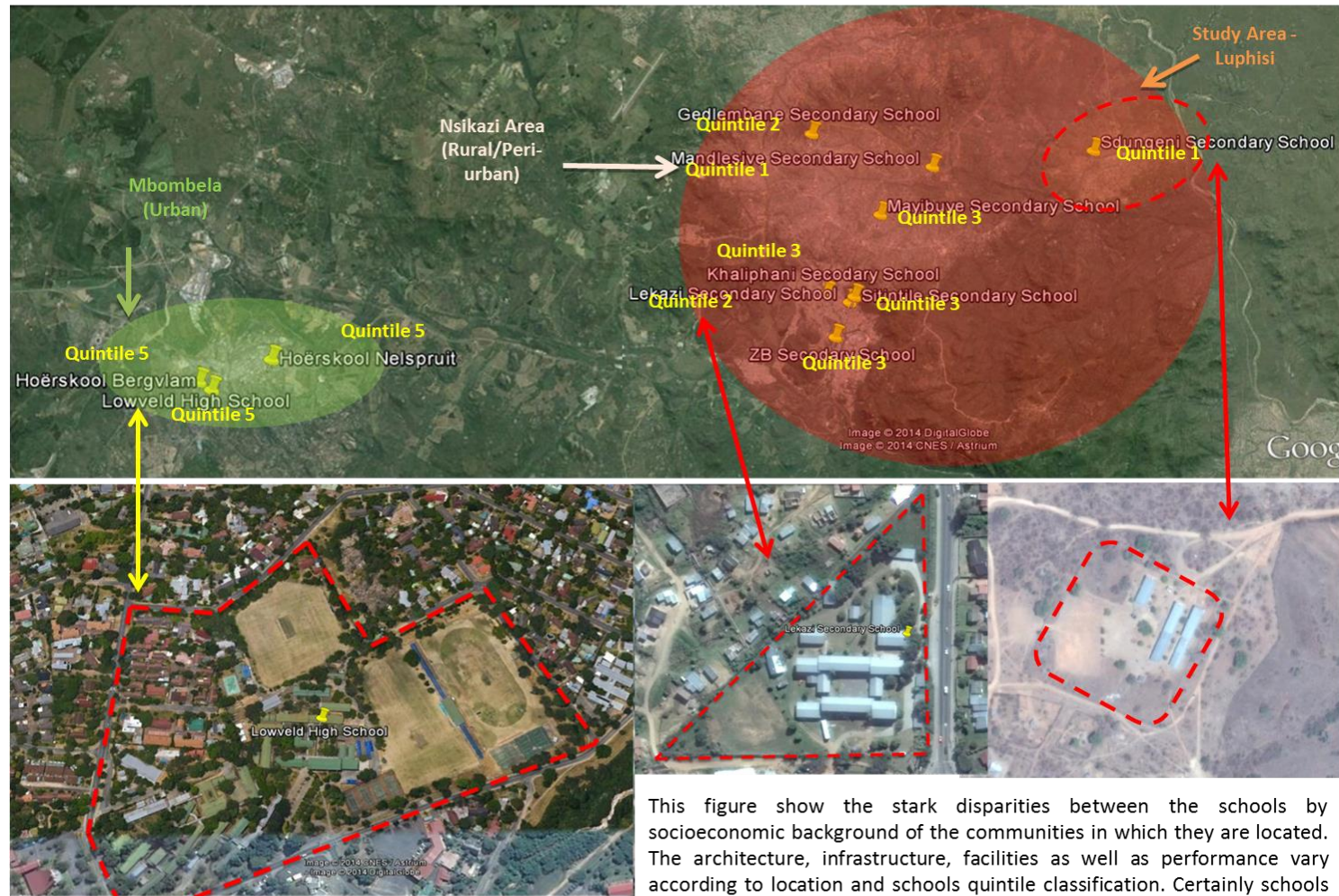
achievement scores; are acknowledged as important indicators of school quality. In terms of rural schools, all these are openly lacking if not questionable in terms of functionality. Therefore, there are very large differences in the allocation of both physical and human resources and in the distribution of educational resources among the schools in different regions within Mbombela municipality. In order to make the future better than today, educational authorities explore tools to assess the quality of the educational outcome by measuring the effectiveness of the components of educational systems, and search the ways to make educational reforms (see Figures 3N and 3O).



#### Legend

-  Section 21 Schools No Fee Schools
-  Semi-urban and rural areas – Lack of educational Resources/infrastructure ie. libraries, laboratories, etc. Lesser matric pass rate. Lesser educated teachers. High TER.
-  Urban area – Well resourced schools with educational infrastructure ie. libraries, laboratories, etc. Lesser matric pass rate. Lesser educated teachers. High TER.

**Figure 3L: ‘A Tale of (Two Towns within) a City’** – The spatial allocation of secondary schools across Nelspruit (urban Mbombela) and Luphisi (Rural Mbombela) is unequal on many levels. Firstly, whilst secondary schools appear to be concentrated in rural Mbombela than in urban Mbombela, this is reflection of the past where only a minority of people lived in urban areas and so only a few schools were required. In the contemporary Mbombela, although race is not entirely separated from spatial formations, class has become critical in understanding characteristics of an area. For example, only a few people who can afford commuting or moving house can afford to enrol their children in these well-resourced schools formally known as Model C schools. Lastly, the picture shows how the well-resourced schools categorised as quintile 5 schools are clustered further away than the rural schools classified as quintile 1, 2 and 3.



This figure show the stark disparities between the schools by socioeconomic background of the communities in which they are located. The architecture, infrastructure, facilities as well as performance vary according to location and schools quintile classification. Certainly schools the large class divisions of society.

**Figure 3M: Zoomed Disparities** – Resourced Urban School Compared to Disadvantaged Rural School within Mbombela. Note the differences in the school areas, diversion space sizes, and the non-palpable differences to the reader.

**Source:** Google Earth, 2014



With cognisance of the fact that the Mbombela Local Municipality is rural in nature, is it expected that the Statistics South Africa (2007) reports very low levels of education. Looking at the educational profile of individuals aged 20 years and over, the IDP (2011) draws from Statistics South Africa (2007) estimates showing that only 7.6% of residents in the region are educated on a level higher than Grade 12. The report finds that 24.8% of the residents have no formal schooling and this figure is higher than the country's average. About "11.32% are found to have no schooling, while 27.67% completed primary education, and 6.11% completed Primary Grade 1-7, 13.22% completed Secondary Grade 8-12 and 8.71% completed higher education" (ibid.). Could this explain the school officials' need to cheat and generate higher pass rates to enable learners to move on to tertiary education? Perhaps facilitate the process of receiving a university in the province? Whatever the case may be, these statistics are unacceptable. Nevertheless, with noted efforts to improve the education situation in the municipality jurisdiction, Statistics South Africa (2011) reports on improved results compared to the 2007 figures. Based on age 20 upwards, the estimations show that those with no schooling amount to 11.9%, those with higher education are estimated at 12.7% and, 33% account for those who have completed matric.

The 2012 IDP finds that most wards raised the need to increase access of education in the municipality. The Mpakeni Tribal Area has a largely low level of formal education, the Luphisi community being more educated than the Mpakeni village but with less educated residents compared to Daantjie. Yet, according to Brayshaw (1999), a large portion of the total population of the area are effectively illiterate. There is a need for an additional primary and secondary school in Luphisi. Numerous schools still experience challenges in terms of inadequate infrastructure, insufficient classrooms, lack of facilities such as educational libraries and laboratories. There are primary schools in all three villages of the Mpakeni Tribal Area however, only two of the villages have secondary schools. In addition to the unwelcoming dilapidated walls that make the primary schools, the only secondary school for Spelanyane and Luphisi, the Sdungeni Secondary School is also a suitable example of many schools with insufficient schooling facilities, resources and environmental inadequacy. The secondary school is based in Luphisi and for many reaching the school is a daily struggle, especially in rainy seasons.

Furthermore, the 2012 IDP notes the need to develop proper sports fields in the rural areas of Mbombela. As far as libraries are concerned, only two libraries are available, of which one is under the provincial government. The library that is under the Municipality is based at the Matsulu Service Centre, while the other is based in Pienaar, an extension of the Daantjiearea. However, these libraries are reported to be badly serviced and poorly furnished as well as limitations in terms of

access, and this is in addition to the massive number of learners, from the entire Nsikazi area, which the libraries serve. The researcher's observations of the focus area pointed to a need for more Community halls, sports facilities, parks and recreational facilities.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Mpumalanga is a province plagued by many educational challenges and/or controversies. Due to the high incidence of corruption in education in the province over the years, Mpumalanga has had difficulty shrugging off its negative image as the home of corrupt activities such as examination cheating, which are most pronounced in the province's rural schools. Shrugging off this negative image / brand image and improving the learning environment of learners have proven somewhat challenging in light of the education policy. Spatial educational inequalities are significantly compounding the problem as they automatically mean that access to educational and recreational facilities are uneven across provincial space. A microcosm of these educational disparities, Mbombela is a municipality that, whilst integrated, is very dual in nature, with a significant rift between the rural and urban, or the educational amenities thereof. Filtering down to Luphisi, the spatial inequalities become more pronounced / felt because the area lags behind areas that are already poor by standard of Mbombela – these areas include Kanyamazane, Daantjie and so forth. Even the schools between these semi-urban and rural areas differ by virtue of how low the socioeconomic standard is (further discussed in chapter 4).

I would argue that, based on the neo-Marxist notion (made mention of in the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter) that a schools' location and infrastructure say much about the values of the wider society. A majority of the schools in the area are characterised by thinly spread resources which hinder the implementation of the curriculum and ultimately teaching. As a result the learners education standards are compromised compared those schools which are able to fully implement the curriculum. The poor education results in limited job opportunities and perhaps even limited aspirations. This may be perpetrated sub-consciously in the minds of the kids in this area in especially when they realise how other learners have had a different experience which is of a higher level than theirs. This places a strain on the poor disadvantaged youths in Luphisi and the great lengths to which they have to travel – literally and figuratively – to access a basic education essential to fulfil some of their dreams to escape poverty in life.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **LUPHISI VILLAGE AS AN EMBODIMENT OF STRUCTURAL EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN MBOMBELA: LESSONS FROM SDUNGENI SECONDARY SCHOOL**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to highlight the interesting and unanticipated issues that emerged from a triangulation of fieldwork material with literature. The chapter argues that although contemporary South Africa inherited stark educational inequalities organised spatially, the current government institutions, processes, programmes and officials are failing to transform these inequalities. In failing to strengthen institutions and integrate policy in such a way that resources are distributed in a manner that addresses unequal educational experiences and convert them into positives that deal with overall educational related equity and equality, apartheid remains somewhat current. The chapter comprises two sections: the first section will present inequality in schools infrastructure through pictures. The significance of these images lies with the fact that the educational performance is also just as divergent. Using the case of Sdungeni Secondary School the study will unpack all again visit the disparities between rural and urban schools and the challenges concerning access to quality education. Heavily dependent of literature and interviews, the second section of the chapter will present and analyse the dynamics of structural inequality of education in Mbombela, Sdungeni Secondary School – looking at the relevant institutions, stakeholders and processes aligned with education and spatial planning.

#### **4.2 Lowveld High School versus Sdungeni Secondary School**

Sdungeni Secondary School (SSS) was built in 1986 to serve particularly Luphisi, Spelanyane, parts of Daantjie and parts of Clau-Clau. It is a section 21 school which means it a no fee school which falls into the quintile 1 category of public schools – which means it is classified as the poorest. According to the current Principal Mr Ndlovu, the school is a small rural school with only 402 learners, compared to schools in the semi-urban areas/townships which comprises of about 1200 learners. There are 16 teachers at the school thus the teacher-learner ratio is estimated at an average of 1:25. The principal also mentioned that the ranking is with reference to the Department of Educations' standard ranking of public schools. Sdungeni consists of thirteen classrooms. Among these classrooms, grades 8 and 9; utilize two classrooms while grade 10, 11 and 12, each use three classrooms. In addition to these built structures, there is a reception area, the principal's office,

staffroom, a computer room (that is not in use), one staff 'flush' toilet (which is still under construction), a security room, pit latrines and a kitchen (built with corrugated iron).

Lowveld High School (LHS) is an English medium high school based in the heart of Nelspruit, built in 1970. The school includes a hostel which enables it to serve learners outside of the city, some from as far as outside South Africa. The hostel offers weekly and termly boarding and learners who are involved in LHS activities over weekends are allowed to stay in. The school is a well-resourced school with fantastic sport facilities, a well-equipped library, a media centre, a computer centre as well as free WiFi which is available on request. According to Mrs Wandrag the current principal of the school, there are 60 teachers plus a Counsellor, a Finance Officer, Debtors Clerk, Creditors Clerk, an IT Specialist, Principals P.A and a Sport Organiser. 46 of the teachers are employed by the government while the rest of the mentioned persons are employed by the Student Governing Body (SGB). With 1183 learners, the teacher-learner ratio is at 1:19. The school is also a section 21 school but school fees is paid and it falls into the quintile 5 category which makes it is amongst the least poor.

### **4.3 Inequality in the Flesh**

#### **4.3.1 Pictures Speak a Thousand Words...**

*The worst form of inequality is to try to make unequal things equal.*

Aristotle

## Lowveld High School



## Sdungeni Secondary School



**Figure 4A:** Spot the Difference: Middle Class versus The Poor – Here the study wants to communicate the physical disparities – which are an embodiments of other detailed disparities – between the two socioeconomic worlds of South Africa.

As an important aspect of evaluating structural inequality in the distribution of quality schools and thus access to quality education in rural areas, the researcher placed attention on the physical making of Sdungeni Secondary School. It is widely accepted that apartheid policies have left a legacy of large school infrastructure backlogs in rural schools (situated in what were formerly black areas) while provision in formerly white schools appears relatively lavish with well-equipped classrooms and laboratories. Thus although Sdungeni's physical environment is not necessarily characterised by rundown buildings, however the school does have challenges of inadequate furniture, lack of essential infrastructure, the premises are rather unsatisfactory considering the broken windows and damaged doors.

Therefore in the vein of various other South African character traits, the education system is also characterised by discrepancies. Rural and urban schools vary greatly in terms of infrastructure, resources and size; maximally this undeniably has a propensity to translate into quality mirrored by performance. The researcher took pictures of a 'previously' disenfranchised rural secondary school (Sdungeni Secondary Schools) and a lavish – well-equipped classrooms and laboratories – former Mode C urban school (Lowveld High School) as an overall aim of assessing the physical environment of the school and how it translates into the kind of education it provides.

During the course of field work and data collection, the researcher visited Lowveld High School, an ordinary public secondary school located in the suburbs of Mbombela, classified as a former Model C school. The researcher did not have a formal interview with the Headmistress of Lowveld High School, Mrs Wandrag, however the researcher was granted the opportunity to take a tour around the school. The researcher is a former Lowveld High School matriculant and this made it easy for the researcher to look out for any improvements in the schools resources and infrastructure that further makes a better and ideal school compared to poor rural schools such as Sdungeni.

When visiting Sdungeni Secondary School, the researcher was taken on a tour around that school, by the schools' principal, Mr Ndlovu. While the researcher and the principal walked around the premises of the school, this allowed the researcher to elicit a casual conversation with the principal. This helped to further explain some of the points the principal had alluded to during his one-on-one interview with the researcher. The initial visit was intended to give the researcher a sense of familiarization with the area under study, as well as to enable the researcher to acquire an understanding of the magnitude of structural inequality through the lenses of schools infrastructure. The visit brought to light many issues pertaining to the effects of structural inequality as well as the perception of education in rural areas by the area's different stakeholders.

Visiting Sdungeni Secondary School during schooling hours enabled the researcher to ‘formally’ interview learners and to casually interact with the learners; the visit also shed light on the reality of rural learners’ schooling experience[s].

#### **4.3.2 A Tour through Inequality**

In the majority of schools populated by black people, sanitation had been neglected by the previous apartheid government; and while the post-apartheid government has committed itself to improving school sanitation, it is struggling to catch up with the backlog of inadequate amenities. Sdungeni is amongst the majority of rural schools in South Africa with no flush toilets, too few pit latrine toilets, or toilets that are unsafe and unpleasant to use. The toilets consisted of dilapidated, smelly and unhygienic ordinary pit latrines with no toilet paper or hand-washing facilities. Although the school has some form of sanitation facilities, some of the toilets are full, broken or filthy. They were also in a filthy condition due to vandalism, but mostly because of lack of proper care and maintenance.

Walking about the school’s grounds the researcher discovered a kitchen which was half-built with corrugated iron. Inside the kitchen was a chair, wood and open place which seemed to be used for open fire cooking. The fact that Sdungeni is a beneficiary of the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) previously known as Primary School Nutrition Programme (PSNP) and considering the inadequate infrastructure used to run this programme further validates the school as disadvantaged with the majority of beneficiaries coming from poor backgrounds. This programme was introduced as a strategy to alleviate poverty aiming to enhance quality education through learning enhancement.

Sdungeni – by virtue of its location in a peripheral area it is expected to be characterised by the lack the amenities that other schools in more advanced areas of Mbombela have. However, the point is South Africa is celebrating twenty years of democracy yet rural schools are still in need of facilities and resources that foster quality education. Over and above that, this is worrisome considering the amounts of money injected into education every year. The government has gone through great lengths to ensure equality in access to quality education but there is still much to be accomplished – the disparities are dire and perturbing in the name of equity and equality. Perhaps yet another interesting discovery, the researcher discovered that in so far as Sdungeni is disadvantaged, there are ordinary public schools nearby that are more developed than Sdungeni. Myanga who is a former teacher in Sitintile Secondary School and now an inspector in the area of Lumphasi said:

it is schools located on the periphery and in poor communities that struggle the most. Lumphasi like many others including Ncakini Secondary School do not have the same resources that other township schools have. You see they all struggle when it comes to libraries and laboratories and all those things

but they still show inequality in that, schools in Lekazi township do not use pit latrine toilets or drink water from Jojo tanks or walk miles to school. For example, Sitintile Secondary School in Lekazi has more teachers and a clear structure in terms of HODs but Lumphisi and Ncakini don't have that. In Sdungeni when one teacher is absent it becomes a problem.

Thus structural educational inequalities in Mbombela are not just confined between the urban and rural-centric however they still filter down to each community/borough/village. This raises questions re class and socioeconomic standing of communities as an indicator of the level of service delivery received? Nkosi a Member of the Ward Committee confirmed the intra inequality in communities saying: "I don't know. They think it's a rural area and we don't really care because in neighbouring semi-rural areas like Lekazi and Ngodini they have access to better facilities"(Nkosi, 2013; added emphasis).

#### **4.3.3 The Learning Experience**

It was important for the researcher to interview the learners so as to get an understanding of their views about the environment in which they receive education. Their inputs are important because they bring to the fore their personal experiences and perceptions of the overall educational setting. The attributes of learners, their perceptions as well as facts about their school are presented in Table 4A. Majority of the learner respondents are based in Lumphisi (eight), with one learner travelling from a neighbouring remote rural area Spelanyane and one from a peri-urban environment: Pienaar. The learners were between the ages of 13 and 18 years and they were all well placed in their grades according to their ages. The learners are from a household size ranging from one to eight.



**Table 4A:** Comparison of Ten Learners' Perceptions about the Absence of Resources and Facilities in their School.

G r a d e	Age	Gend er	How do you get to School?	Why did you Choose to Enrol at Sdungeni?	What would make you to leave your School?	What would you say the Absence of Resources/ Facilities Hinder your Performance at School?	How do you feel about the toilets you use?	How do you feel about the absence of Facilities/Resources?
8	14	Male	Walk (25 minutes)	It is close to my house and it is better than other schools near my house	The only thing that will make me leave this school is the learners that are disturbing during class	It affects me too much because sometimes I need a computer to do my work properly	I feel bad, they are not good. They are not clean	The infrastructure I very bad and we don't have enough resources and the teachers are not enough so this is very bad for us.
8	13	Fema le	Walk (15 minutes)	It is close to my house, going to another school will cost us a lot of money	Learners are disrespectful, they bully us	It does affect my school work a bit but I can still keep up with my work	I feel okay, they are fine	Bullies take our chairs and we learn on our feet
9	15	Male	Take a Bus (30 minutes)	Because their pass rate is higher than other schools close to my house and it continues to increase. And I cannot afford a bus ticket to other schools.	Because this school doesn't have the facilities that schools in town have	Yes because we don't have access to more information	I think that they should add more toilets	I don't feel good. Our school is very big but inside the classes we don't have ceilings and we don't have light bulbs, some desks and chairs are broken they should look into this. The only resources we have are, chalk, black boards and dusters.

9	15	Female	Walk (15 minutes)	Because they cook food for us and it is close to my house and I think I like it here	Because we don't learn with computers and we always speak SiSwati we don't speak English a lot	Yes because if we need information then we must go to Lekazi Library and it is not always safe	They smell	The infrastructure is not that bad it's better than before but we don't have textbooks, for example there are five textbooks for 30 learners to share. So if you don't get the text book you fail.
10	16	Male	Take a Bus (35 minutes)	It is the closest school to my home, because Spelanyane doesn't have a secondary school	The school does not have facilities like libraries, sport fields, and those who do Physical Science cannot do practical experiments	Yes, we need libraries and laboratories. Learners in town perform better because they have and we don't have	The toilets are not always clean	I feel bad but there is nothing we can do our school is poor
10	15	Female	Walk (25 minutes)	Because it has good results every year and I don't have to pay money to get here	Because there is no library, not enough textbooks and other facilities	Yes we don't have libraries and computers	They are fine and I don't get infections	I feel very bad because we don't have enough, we don't even have a library and in other classes the ceilings are broken
11	17	Female	Walk (15 – 25 minutes)	Because it is the closest to my home and my parents cannot afford to take me to another school. But we have a highly competent Principal and some few determined	The lack of resources and facilities	Yes, I hardly have enough information on science experiments and I can't have access to information I need when doing assignments and research	I feel okay	We don't even have light bulbs, we have a big shortage and to make it worse we have incompetent teachers. Otherwise everything is fine

				teachers				
1 1	17	Female	Walk (30 minutes, I don't take short cuts because I am scared I will be raped)	It is close to my home, I like studying close to my home	Nothing. I know people underestimate the school because it is in a rural area but I want to prove them wrong.	Yes, because when I need information I must take a taxi to town or buy airtime to use the internet. We also can't do experiments so we only do theory and this will affect us when we get to the university	The toilets are dirty and they smell. They are also not enough especially during break so the boys bully us and use our toilets	I feel bad but there is nothing we can do so its fine
1 2	18	Male	Walk (20 minutes through the bushes)	I have no choice I cannot afford to go to schools in town	The school is behind, we don't have the things, facilities we need to pass well	Yes, I want to do experiments so I can understand my work better. Here we only do theory	The toilets are not clean and I think they are not safe...you know	I don't feel good about it because we need good infrastructure and resources to do well
1 2	18	Female	Walk (30 minutes)	It is close to my home, but I like it because the new Principal has contributed a lot in changing the school and the performance. He is hands on.	Some of the teachers are incompetent, for example the Maths teacher is very good but the Physical Science teacher is a problem	Yes there are many things that I don't know how to do like using a computer or doing science experiments	Well...they are safe but they are not always clean especially for girls. Boys don't really care	It's not nice not to have the things we need because when we finish and go to universities we will struggle a lot

The interview between the researcher and the principal of Sdungeni – Mr Ndlovu – explained the setting in which teaching takes place. Ndlovu (2013) pointed out the obvious in that learners have access to pit latrine toilets; water has not been a problem since the installation of Jojo tanks; and classrooms are enough for learners, as there is no overcrowding. However, Ndlovu emphasised the need to deal with the lack of resources and neglected infrastructure. He narrated that although there is no shelter for the schools' assembly which can also be used for parents' meetings and/or parking cars during the day. Ndlovu mentioned that the lack of necessary facilities such as textbooks, computers, libraries, laboratories and sports fields, is the biggest challenge in teaching. A few of the interviewed learners substantiated this statement saying:

there are many things that I don't know how to do like using a computer or doing science experiments (Grade 12 learner);

when I need information I must take a taxi to town or buy airtime to use the internet. We also can't do experiments so we only do theory and this will affect us when we get to the university (Grade 11 learner).

Ndlovu revealed that although there is a computer room in the school, it has never been functional since its installation; and remarked that, "We live in a digital world where such facilities are important but, such resources are not even in the curriculum and besides...we have a huge lack of competent teachers" (Ndlovu, 2013).

The lack of essential educational resources in South Africa has been a huge challenge, especially in the year 2012 with reference to the Limpopo textbook saga. Textbooks according to Veriava (2013) are classified as an essential classroom resource because teaching and learning cannot take place without them. Textbooks enable a minimum standard of educational environment to be achieved to which all learners are entitled. The media reported extensively about the two million pupils in Limpopo who were likely to have their learning compromised because the Department of Education had failed to get them the textbooks they need. While a blind school received textbooks meant for sighted learners, Afrikaans schools received Xhosa textbooks; some received them late, some not enough and some schools did not receive textbooks at all. In the schools where these textbooks could not be used, they were burnt, shredded or dumped.

#### **4. 4 The Troublesome Link between Service Delivery and Corruption**

Service delivery is in many instances plagued by the inability to curb and eradicate corruption in the government sphere. Corruption also allows negligence, poor over-sight and incompetence to thrive. The Department of Education and SAQMEQ in the SACMEQ III Project in South Africa (2012 as cited

in Veriava, 2013: 4) report that in 2007, the average South African Grade 6 learner was in a school where only 45% of learners had reading books and 36.4% mathematics textbooks. Similar to Sdungeni, where the learners mentioned that the lack of textbooks requires them to take turns and this becomes a problem in terms of time management. These statistics carry more weight when compared to South Africa's neighbours – which are economically not on an equal level with South Africa and do not inject as much funds as South Africa does in the educational sector. In Swaziland for example, 100% of learners have their own mathematics textbooks and 99% have their own reading textbooks. Similarly, in Botswana 62% of learners have their own mathematics textbooks and 63% their own reading textbooks, and in Lesotho learners with their own mathematics textbooks amount to 56%, while 56% have their own reading textbooks. In cognisance of the lack of resources in South African schools and the recent pass rate set extremely low at 30%, learners are set up for failure.

What is causing these aggravating statistics?

According to the Corruption Watch (2014) alongside a multitude of newspapers articles from a 2012 'lack of textbooks delivery saturated media'; "when Limpopo failed to deliver textbooks to its schools at the beginning of 2012, it triggered a nationwide uproar and mobilised public sentiment like no other education delivery failure had ever done before". The public outrage raised questions about mismanagement, negligence and incompetency. These questions were not implausible because towards the end of 2011 the Limpopo education department was put under administration with four other provincial departments, and by March 2012 it was already R2-billion in the red. Although Limpopo took centre stage in this misfortune, it nevertheless reflected to a greater or lesser extent what other provinces go through as well. Mpumalanga is amongst these corrupt provinces (Times Live, 2012; Corruption Watch, 2014). Well known for its dirty nose of exam fraud, Mpumalanga has also been in the media about money embezzlement and corrupt officials.

#### **4.4.1 Corruption is the Enemy...**

Many of these cases reveal that gross lack of oversight and poor management have led to less spending on vital school needs such as feeding schemes, infrastructure, transport, and textbooks (ibid.) Corruption in education has flourished because the government lacks the capacity, competency to conduct oversight (Astro Tech, 2012; Business Report, 2012; ibid.). De Waal (2014) from Daily Maverick explains that while for many there is plenty of money to be made in the heady concoction of corruption that is Mpumalanga these days, those who try to expose corruption risk their lives – that is how serious the situation is. Police records show that since 1998 at least 14 government officials or politicians have been killed. Recent deaths related to the revealing of corruption include the murder of chief whip of Enhlanzeni District Municipality, Johan Ndlovu killed

in January 2011; Director of Communication at the Provincial Department of Arts and Culture, Sammy Mpatlanyane killed in January 2010; Jimmy Mohlala who was killed outside his home in January 2009.

Intimidation, violence and corruption are like an incurable cancer that has spread throughout the province (see M&G, 2011). Several cases of corrupt officials remain unresolved: the City Press (2011) reported that Municipal Manager for Enhlanzeni District Municipality remains employed despite being under investigation for corruption involving more than R200 million, charged with two counts of fraud as well as contravening the Finance Management Act. In addition, five senior managers from three Mpumalanga Municipal Councils have been suspended for financial mismanagement or corruption and eight government officials have been arrested in Mpumalanga in two separate cases of fraud (ibid.; also see De Waal, 2014; M&G, 2011; City Press, 2011). On the other hand, corruption networks are not only limited to wasted resources; they mount to be a plague in staff disruptions. According to De Waal (2014), new mayors want their own people, people who are connected or part of their network. This often rationalizes the employment of unskilled government officials. Cadre deployment/nepotism/employment is not about the skills, it is not about service delivery, and however it is about political networks. This is in many ways been the root of institutional failure. Schools like Sidungeni Secondary School are affected the most where corruption is concerned because it is a major drain on the already scarce resources that teachers and learners strive to make means of. This causes additional strain on both teachers and learners which contributes to drop outs as well as diminished efforts and dedication from teachers. Moreover, this also influences teachers to leave while inhibiting other teachers to join. Therefore, only the desperate will end up teaching in such schools. These are often the least educated, least experienced and possibly uncommitted. The major drain on the effective use of resources for education becomes greatly affected and it is damaging because it endangers the country's social, economic and political future which means it has far reaching as well as long term effects – compared to other sectors. Such schools remain under resourced with low quality education thus transformation becomes impinged. As a result, great frustration is felt by those closely affected.

#### **4.4.2 ...Manifests itself in Many Forms**

Local government is elected by citizens to represent them and they are responsible to ensure that services are delivered to the community as an avenue towards promoting social and economic development in communities. The researchers' interview with the one of the MMCs in MLM began to take shape when she recognised her role in the municipality as a politician. This was important to note by the researcher because a government official is an employed first before they are politicians.

This is because political deployment in South Africa has triggered more negative than positive response from citizenry with many arguing that political deployment allows those who are politically connected yet incompetent to be placed in public positions and the grave concern in that is that this leads to a demoralised public service – this view has also saturated the media in many instances. The Auditor General South Africa (2011-2012) has for example reported that the drivers of key controls (such as leadership, financial performance management and governance) are not improving in various municipalities because the root cause lies with key officials lacking appropriate competencies: the root cause at 73% of those audited.

This is an unsettling discovery - leaders are unaware of their portfolios. A prime example of this concern is found in the response of the MMC when she was asked by the researcher re how her role influences and shapes the development of the area of Luphisi. This government official leads the municipal sector of Development of Urban and Rural Human Settlements of the MLM but her response was “Luphisi? ...I don’t really know that area ...I don’t know anything about that area”. This was startling! The MLM covers the entire Mbombela and surrounding peri-urban and rural areas including Luphisi. The subsequent question in the mind of the researcher was, ‘if the head of such an important sector – a sector that ought to view development in a much broader view – is not aware of the very places that need reconstruction and development, is there hope for these places? Following the MMCs train of thought, the researched asked about the measures taken by the government as a whole, to develop rural areas of Mbombela, the MMC said: “rural development is not catered for...there are no funds for projects in the national, provincial and municipal government”. Clearly the improvement of rural schools is an afterthought. If rural development is not a priority then educational transformation – which the backbone of any kind of development – is clearly not a concern. So schools like Sidungeni Secondary Schools will remain in their unsatisfactory state, offering low quality education and delaying the process of development in previously disadvantaged areas and so the country as a whole.

In spite of this, the MMC remarked that education is very important in post-apartheid South Africa. “If you are educated then you can access job opportunities, because no education means no job ... you can do your own thing with education” (MMC, 2013). In addition, the respondent agrees that access to education can reduce inequalities by people being good role models to children in their area. *Even me I pray that God can help me be a leader of my department and lead politically* (MMC, 2013; added emphasis). This is somewhat ironic for her to want for this to happen yet she does not know all the regions she is supposed to be serving in her municipality. She wants to be the best yet she is doing nothing for rural schools, better yet she does not even know about any developments in

Luphisi. Could this be a stunt to protect her image and political party she serves? Well the *City Press* (2014) recently revealed that ANC members in Pienaar near Nelspruit were disgruntled with the leadership of Mpumalanga premier and provincial party chairperson David Mabuya, they have reached the lengths of organising for residents there to march in protest. *City Press* (2014) in another article reported that a poll revealed that South Africans' support for the party has dropped to a 20-year low of 53% in Mpumalanga. So clearly the ANC is losing its popularity and perhaps credibility from the residents of Mbombela.

The MMC also showed attempts to boost her image when noting that in post-apartheid South Africa's rural areas in relation to that of the fascist era rural setting, showed a nuanced conception. The MMC said

"apartheid education was much better than today's education. We were taught discipline and we respected our teachers and parents. But apartheid education did not care about outcomes ... we did not have ambitions or passion for anything ... we went to school because our friends went to school. I can't say apartheid education affected me ... I learned a lot ...like it taught me discipline. Not like now ... the issue of freedom, children have a lot of freedom ... there was no crime ... now we are agitated about foreigners and police don't do their job and the ambulances don't do their job (MMC, 2013).

She said, in so far as she has observed, good advances in education have been made by the current democratic government – which is expected as a proud ANC member – mentioning that education is important now compared to the apartheid era. In post-apartheid South African schools, there is everything, there is access to resources and food; learners do not attend with hungry stomachs. This statement reveals the MMCs support to the current government because access to resources is not uniform or better yet illustrates the MMCs ignorance of the inequality that prevails within her portfolio which she is unfamiliar with. For example she contradicts this statement when she admitted the huge backlog and inequality in schools mentioning the need for water, roads, and other essential educational facilities such as computers and libraries

#### **4.5 Rural Development**

During the interviews, the respondents showed a measure of understanding of rural development yet it is of vital importance to note that although they agreed with the "unbiased/literal meaning of 'development', in a geographically specific 'rural' area" (Takeuchi, undated: 3), most saw it as a way of moving away from the apartheid government's view of rural/homeland development into a democratic/inclusive meaning. Their understanding of rural development is inclined to the significance of redress, reconstruction and transformation of the historical landscape of inequality between urban and rural areas. Rightly so, the development of rural areas cannot be separated from



the apartheid ideology of homelands because of the inequalities that continue to structure the opportunities available to the rural local people today (King, 2007). This is evident in several studies that have examined the legacy of the homelands in order to understand their lingering impacts on rural areas (see for instance Weiner and Levin 1991; Ramutsindela 2001; King, 2005).

Similarly, Ngobeni (2013) – Inspector of Education in and around the area of Luthuli – shared the same sentiments in his definition of rural development. According to Ngobeni (2013), rural development pertains to, “an expansion of a development programme specifically for rural areas as they were previously excluded from service delivery and redistribution of resources”. Nonetheless, an even more relevant view of rural development in relation to this study is given by the Town and Regional Planner, Manikela (2013). Boldly Manikela (2013) described rural development saying: “holistically ... [rural development] involves multiple sectors that seek to enhance rural areas ... uplifting the socioeconomic statuses of people and social infrastructure through attracting investors and resources...” This was an important point to note by the researcher as she was trying to figure out if education is in any way key in measures adopted for rural development – over and above that, the researcher was pleased to find that from a spatial planning perspective, rural development is viewed as a holistic approach that integrated all sectors for the betterment of human settlements.

#### **4.5.1 Education for Rural Development**

Myanga (2013) remarked that education is important for the improvement of these previously excluded rural areas stressing that “education drives rural development and therefore without education the people will remain poor”. This statement coincides with various researchers who declare that in recent times, the rural development approach has broadened to include wider aspects of development such as education (cf. Rowley et al., 1996; Ashley and Maxwell; Ward et al., 2009). Additionally Myanga (2013) noted that

while in the path to developing the rural areas through education, quality is very very important to note ...because only quality education matters ...only quality education can develop the people ... so quality facilities and resources and, quality teachers are all important factors to be considered in rural development initiatives.

Quality is an important aspect of the study in that it has recognised the vast improvement in the quantity aspect. Quality has therefore become the premise of educational inequality. The reason quality is highlighted and of great significance to people like Myanga, who have been enduring the many challenges associated with teaching in rural areas for decades, is perhaps triggered by the persistent dualistic nature of the education system in South Africa (see Spaull, 2013; Naidoo, Eeden and Munch, 2014). It is essentially for that reason that Ngobeni (2013) also finds it critically important to view rural development strategies through the lens of education pointing out that

“education has the power to promote the social and economic standard of a society”. But, Ngobeni extended his point of view by indicating that

... in order for education to achieve that ... it should be linked to the social and economic dynamics of that particular society. In order to promote relevant education in Luphisi, for example ... Luphisi is not an industrial society but agrarian, therefore education needs to enhance and promote environmental appreciation and tourism (Ngobeni, 2013)

On a lighter note there are advances made by the government in rural schools. Ndlovu (2013) mentioned that the government has provided scholar transport for learners, which he was totally pleased with saying: “Well...the scholar transport available for learners I am pleased with. Learners from Spelanyane use the bus and they in fact arrive here much earlier than learners who stay here in Luphisi”. Meanwhile, the SABC News (2014) report that residents from Thekwane North outside Mbombela, Mpumalanga, have staged a mass protest - the second time in as many weeks. The angry residents are demanding a secondary school because last week two girls and a boy were kidnapped and allegedly raped while walking from a school some distance away.

#### **4.5.2 Untidy Education System**

Ngobeni’s sentiments concur with those of Foser and Sheffield (2006) who state that the limited relevance of education is perhaps a more grave concern because counter-productive education has no positive impact – and it is limited in quality. In addition Tikly and Barrett (2011) put emphasis in the significance of context, and in providing a normative basis for quality because this allows a platform to re-conceptualise education quality and how it can be evaluated. The researchers argue that this further draws attention to the central importance of public dialogue and debate at the local, national and global level. Jowah (2013) agrees with Ngobeni that the rural development programs are top-down and heavily tailored for the benefit of political mileage for ruling elites, rather than the rural folk.

Over and above that, the decentralisation of education was an attempt to tackle challenges of participation – and of course various other school related challenges – the government introduced the School Governing Body (SGB) as an alternative platform in which public participation can shape governance through a bottom-up approach (see Karlsson, 2002; Adams and Waghid, 2005; Bush and Heystek, 2003). Yet, in the context of rural areas, the MMC says SGB meetings are proving to be futile, in this regard. The MMC points out that although there are meetings held by SGBs’, (1) officials from the Department of Education never attend these meetings, (2) SGB members often do not take minutes therefore, (3) the effectiveness of SGB meetings is largely dependent on the capability of the SGB, which in most cases proves to be inadequate.

The MMC bought face once more when she noted that her office has the capability to discuss difficulties with relevant stakeholders in an attempt to address them. She noted that essentially what happens is the office of the Executive Mayor (including their input) conveys issues to provincial level. But, if the local government has no influence in the development of Luthuli, does this mean that development concerns by the residents and strategies for development by the local government are excluded? Equally so, if the officials from the Education Department do not attend necessary meetings in schools, how then does the department address the quality dimension of education in context of the challenges?

#### **4.6 Neoliberal Nature of Government and Intergovernmental Conflict**

In so far as government stresses the need for redressing structural educational inequalities, this is not happening because of intergovernmental tensions?

Appearance does not translate to reality in the sense that while government's motto may be the redressing of inequalities, this view may be contradicted by the fact that municipal governments have contrasting views such as being bent on competitiveness rather than developmentalism. Basically the researcher discovered that there are conflicting rationalities amongst the different spheres of government. Government at national and provincial levels may not be sharing the same sentiments as local government re educational inequalities. For example, municipalities generate a large amount of their money via revenues and taxes, which may mean that a great deal of focus is perhaps being given to the 'urban' parts of the municipality by virtue of the fact that the most revenue is collected there. For example, when the researcher asked the Nkosi the member of the ward committee about why there are inequalities in schools infrastructure she said:

"you know my sister the thing is the people living in the suburbs have more money they can improve themselves and those people are the ones that are listened to than us in the rural areas...I don't know maybe they think it's a rural area and we don't really care because in neighbouring semi-rural areas like townships they have access to infrastructure" – ['they' referring to the government].

This is not in line with national government's developmental vision reflected in for example the recent National Development Plan and the National Spatial Development Perspective. Nonetheless, this divergence is basically the same everywhere. In the City of Johannesburg Municipality, we are told that revenue generated from Sandton, Randburg and Rosebank can be utilised to subsidise Diepsloot, Soweto, Noordgesis, and Alex, hence the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) servicing areas like Soweto. Then again the question is: is that really happening – does this deal with the structural disparities and/or shortage of 'good schools' in the previously disadvantaged areas?

The neoliberal nature of the municipality comes through when the MMC highlighted that “the municipality needs a revenue enhancement policy” (MMC, 2013) – the need for a responsible citizen who pays his/her way and whose identity and being are shaped around the market logic. In that, the MMC found the root challenges or causes facing the allocation of resources entrenched in the very people who want the resources and infrastructure. She asserted that apart from the fact that the formalisation of rural settlements is a big challenge;

*...people do not have the passion to pay for what they want... and there is overcrowding caused by foreigners and they contribute to the backlog in service delivery ... and there is no strategy to accommodate them, even census leave them behind but they keep protesting for services but they don't want to pay... they don't want to pay.*

(MMC, 2013; added emphasis)

In spite of the Premier of Mpumalanga Mabuza (2013) advice that “Municipal leaders need to understand that water problems could cost them their work if they are not careful enough. They should understand that we are dealing with a problem that is gravely affecting our people”. The SABC News (2014) reported that residents of Pienaar, east of Mbombela in Mpumalanga, were protesting against the shortage of water. They say they have been without water since the year began – for almost a month. The news noted that one of the protesters said “Our councillor doesn't have a problem because she is able to call cars to supply him with water while we have to suffer”. Nevertheless, in White River, Hillview suburb residents also found themselves high and dry early in the New Year after being left waterless. The researcher finds in addition to not being able to afford to pay for utilities, it is for this reason that rural residents of Mbombela refuse to pay for services such as water because of the frequent irregularities. One finds that poor rural people cannot even access free water because there are not any facilities.

Perhaps this rationalises the disparities between Mbombela, the peri-urban areas/townships like Lekazi and Ngodini and Luphisi. Like the urban Mbombela, Lekazi and Ngodini pay for their water, whilst in Luphisi and Daantjie households the delivery of basic services is not paid for – hence the shortages of water infrastructure, the irregularity of running water, lack of sewage system and therefore worst state of schools compared to the neighbouring areas such as Lekazi and Ngodini. The neoliberal nature of service provision is not confined in the provisioning of basic services such as water and electricity however education also suffers as much. Clearly urban schools that afford to acquire school fees can do more than rural schools which stretch minimal resources just for learners to scrape through to the next grade. Thus the issue of non-payment of services which leads to services being cut off is actually a reflection of how the educational system is – those who can afford

to pay are sure to receive quality education, while those who cannot pay are left to fend for themselves.

Subsequently, Manikela (2013) revealed the neoliberal nature of the municipality when he paused to think and was slow to respond to the question about spatial planning being sensitive the service delivery and specifically the delivery/distribution of resourced and well located schools:

... the municipality is very slow in leading the multiple sectors required in rural development initiatives ... this includes leading the private sector and, formalising settlement patterns. So ... people are still invading land and rural areas are still informal. The only true intervention by the municipality is the profit driven shopping centres, as an intervention to property development

(Manikela, 2013)

Furthermore, the MMC noted that her office has the capability to discuss difficulties with relevant stakeholders in an attempt to address them. She noted that essentially what happens is the office of the Executive Mayor (including their input) conveys issues to provincial level. But, if the local government has no influence in the development of Luphisi, does this mean that development concerns by the residents and strategies for development by the local government are excluded? Equally so, if the officials from the Education Department do not attend necessary meetings in schools, how then does the department address the quality dimension of education in context of the challenges? These and several other questions were left unanswered because the respondent refrained from replying to them.

## **4.7 Confusion**

### **4.7.1 Confusion Surrounding Land**

The addressing of educational inequalities in Mbombela Luphisi is caught up in a web of institutional clutter. Land is a contentious issue in South Africa and, looking at the scenario of education in Luphisi and Mbombela, the researcher could not agree more. Manikela (2013) lamented that the greatest challenge facing planning in the rural areas is the lack of a legislative framework.

*“...you see the greatest problem lies with the lack of legislative framework. There is no clarity between the chief and the municipality with regards to allocating land and the politics between the chief and the municipality worsens the confusion. Look ... chiefs allocate land without knowledge of environmental and overall coordination consequences. Sometimes chiefs allocate land due to profit-driven purposes ... corruption. Settlements are linked to services, people build wherever they like. For example, people struggle with accessing graveyards...there is no land for graveyards” (Manikela, 2013).*

Studies have considered the link between governance and rural development (Böcher, 2008; Perret, 2004) with others looking specifically at the role of traditional leadership in local governance and rural development in South Africa (George, 2010; Tlhoale, 2012). As it appears, land disputes factor into the issues surrounding education due to the lack of clarity over whose land/territory generally leads to confusion over who governs, and in most cases ungovernability. This confusion manifests itself in Sdungeni, where there is confusion surrounding who should run the school. Local chiefs appear incapacitated and clueless in terms of protecting Sdungeni. Could that be one of the reasons why local government is not enthusiastic about the development of the area?

Although Harrison and Todes (2001) point out that South Africa has adopted the spatial framework approach as a mechanism to alter the distorted spatial patterns of the past. Manikela (2013) said the 2005/2006 Spatial Development Framework (SDF) has marked all rural areas under the MLM yellow, labelling these areas as future residential areas because there are no TPSs. He added that developments in urban areas are guided by Town Planning Schemes (TPSs) which are absent in rural areas. This spatial planning tool allows planning to for example to determine the ratio of schools access because it provides for an educational stand as a secondary right. Thus spatial planning is aligned with infrastructure/service delivery planning. The rural areas on the other hand, do not have an allowance of an educational stand as a secondary right therefore the ratio of schools access cannot be determined. Formalisation remains a huge challenge and hindrance in co-ordinating and guiding development spatially.

Thus Manikela (2013) pointed out that, as a consequence, Chiefs are the ones who plan and allocate land for schools and other educational purposes in the rural areas. This is why issues of monitoring and encroachment cannot be dealt with. These areas are under Chieftaincy rule and developments tend to occur haphazardly because people do not submit development applications to be approved by the municipality. The same thing is happening in Nigeria, even in Lagos the biggest commercial nerve centre of the country and/or region, where municipalities have trouble using statutes to appropriate land in ways they see fit due in large part to the presence of ongoing influence and/or pro-activeness of tribal authorities in the allocation of land. Perhaps municipalities in South Africa cannot be exclusively blamed for the failure to allocate land and/or deal with structural inequalities. Rather, there are other factors – apart from lack of skills and capacity, as well as corrupt practices – hindering their effectiveness – being the ostensible contestation around land.

#### **4.7.2 Confusion re Management of Rural Schools**

It was interesting to learn that Ndlovu (2013) found the school strategically located. He based this analysis on the view that the school is located on the growing side of the community, whereas the other sides are inhabited by the older generation and there are not many young people. In addition

to this view, he remarked that the allocation of schools must be protected by the government in some way or another because land invasion has become a huge problem to deal with as the community continues to grow.

*There has been land invasion on the boundaries of the school's premises but the Chief does not really know how to deal with it. But this is bad for us because in as much as we are a small school today, what will happen in future when we want to develop the school with necessary facilities and infrastructure?*

(Ndlovu, 2013; added emphasis)

Manikela (2013) was in agreement with the point that was made by Ngobeni (2013) with regard to the effects of irregular developments - that irregular developments bring with them other challenges such as the invasion of school premises by the local people. This is where corruption is revealed because although the chief is the one who allocated land for Sdungeni and is aware – or should be aware – of its extension, the chief later in the years sells a portion of the school to local people who look to erect houses and/or other structures. This is also made easy by the stagnant infrastructural growth/development of the school and basic lack of infrastructure such as a demarcation wall/fence. Manikela (2013) adds that because formalising has not occurred, cases such as these are not valid in court and the tribal authorities fail to address them.

In addition, Manikela (2013) made the point that perhaps the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Bill (SPLUMB) approved in August 2013 is almost the only key to getting rural areas formalised. This is very important because it will introduce TPSs that will enhance accessibility, transport network and private sector investment. This is also a politicised development because it might displace local authorities and threaten their power. Essentially, municipalities have limited control over land in Luphisi. Evidently, there are unresolved spatial tensions within government policy as well as a weak institutional position of integrative and spatial planning in relation to sectoral planning and interests. These tensions seemingly 'tippy toe' their way into the debate on structural educational inequalities – revealing that institutions at the top and those at the bottom are not coordinated and evidently sectors such as education are greatly affected, and perhaps is living proof of the existence of such conflicts and tensions caused by the opacity of management.

The consequences of the lack of spatial planning are not confined to physical difficulties. Myanga (2013) for example lamented that the challenge of insufficient and incompetent teachers is also a result of inappropriate spatial planning of schools. Myanga (2013) indicated that “an area with issues of service delivery, such as the lack of regular clean water and limited mobile reception (to name a few), no teacher wants to come to”. Another example related to the importance of spatial planning

Myanga (2013) alluded to, was the issue of limited reception in the mobile network connection in the Maphakeni area, which includes Luphisi. Myanga (2013) went on to say that naturally places like the High Court and Universities are well planned and linked to basic services and infrastructure and this has a huge positive impact in people wanting to work in those areas.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

Luphisi's Sdungeni Secondary School is a microcosm of historical, political and institutional challenges plaguing and/or tied to South Africa's rural schools. Seemingly managed by chiefs who are incapacitated, corrupt, and perhaps marginalised by the government – and government officials who are just as incapacitated and corrupt. Sdungeni is a 'perfect' example of the dynamics relating to structural inequality and the slow improvement of disparities in and between communities. Significantly, in comparison with 'urban' schools that it is in close proximity to, Sdungeni - and perhaps Luphisi – shows us that structural educational inequalities extend beyond the urban/rural divide because even within the peri-urban and rural areas themselves, there are structural and spatial divisions which extend to education. This conclusion is very thin – you need to draw out the emerging issues or trends analytically.

Corruption has become one of the major factors in delaying transformation. Whether in the form of placing people in positions by form of favour and prejudice who are often unskilled and often unaware of their responsibilities or manipulating processes for whatever gain or, actual stealing. In fact, in situations where poverty is already an established problem, the situation is then not only delayed but taken a few steps back. At the end of the day more damage is felt in the already struggling areas and this is a big problem since these areas cover a significantly large part of South Africa.

The issue of class remains the major hindrance in ensuring quality education. Clearly those who can afford to pay for services are first in the list. However, the problem is while the government is calling out for responsible citizens who will be faithful in paying for their services, a large majority the citizens who happen to be unemployed and poor are calling out to the government – as a government of the people – to provide basic services at no cost. With regards to the transformation of education, unquestionably the urban schools benefit more than the rural schools since schools are a product of their surrounds.

Confusion in the management of schools is an issue that relates to governance. Good governance is hindered by perplexed institutional powers. Who is responsible for the physical layout of the schools and takes decisions where expansion and facilities are concerned? Who decides whether or not the



school is situated appropriately to enhance or hinder the implementation of its instructional and non-instructional programmes? The location of the school is one of the factors that can determine how useful a school can be to the members of the local community. The size, location and nature of the school location can facilitate or hinder the implementation of the school programme and affect the children's learning opportunities.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MEETING THE CHALLENGES THROUGH SPATIAL-DEVELOPEMENT ANGLES

#### 5.1 Introducing Planning Intervention

The case of structural educational inequality in Mbombela as has been shown in the previous chapters is loaded with political dynamics, ineffectiveness, and corruption as well as blurred institutional responsibilities over space. These divisions' places planners in a significant position of agency which is in the midst of politics between traditional authorities, the municipality and citizenry. This is important because in the backdrop of planning being intimately linked to a broader reform movement, which seeks to redress the ills of the (capitalist) society by changing the politics, economy and geography of cities (Cherry, 1998; Hall, 1988; Schaffer, 1988), planners are important. In this regard, planners are tasked with the responsibility to meet the dynamic and shifting needs of the citizenry through some kind of governance process and some interactive relation. Similarly, in the context of this research, planners find themselves limited in efforts of improving areas such as Luphisi with blurred institutional responsibilities.

This study has placed the problem of unequal education in the spatial planning debate. In view of the ubiquitous structural educational inequalities bearing historical spatial discourses. This approach is aptly based on the consideration of space as a social fact and no-longer just as a Euclidian scene/or a neutral landscape where acts occur. Space is thus viewed as modified and constantly designed by social and political conduct through planning and appropriating strategies/discourses over time in relation to asymmetrical power geometry (Fernández, 2008: 1-2). The essence of this lies with the fact that social distance between citizens remains increasingly large – with income probably weighing more consequence. However, additional factors such as social and political justice are also at stake – especially because inequality has an inflammatory element. It is for this reason then, that communicative and strategic spatial planning becomes the ideal in this context in view of the fact that planners must balance their responsibilities with the practicality of the politics embedded in the governance processes and interaction.

This chapter addresses the actual and potential role of communicative and strategic spatial planning in the context of educational infrastructure provision. It is divided into three sections: in the first section the chapter brings forth a consolidated overview of all findings from fieldwork, presented in relation to how they fit into the spatial planning debate. The second section is divided into several

sections that look into how communicative and strategic spatial planning can intervene in this seemingly chronic educational inequality. The third section will conclude the study with a summary of the findings as well as recommendations.

## **5.2 Revisiting the Issues Feeding into the Persistent Spatial Educational Inequality in Mbombela, Luphisi.**

### **5.2.1 Inherited Educational Spatial Inequality**

- The apartheid government strengthened its predecessors' segregationist laws and expanded the institutionalised form of racism through an array of strategies.
- This system of governance has left a remarkable footprint in all aspects of the landscape of South Africa, and inequality characterises this legacy.
- Historical physical separation according to racial residential segregation was a fundamental cause of today's racial disparities in the overall landscape of South Africa.
- Enforced residence in certain areas was an institutional mechanism of racism that was designed to prevent whites from social interaction with blacks as well as to uphold the separate development policy which was centred on the ideology of the superiority of the white man over the inferior black man. Citizenship was tied to race and so did the providing of basic infrastructure/services.
- Therefore without reservation, the apartheid system ensured that white areas received quality service delivery for their comparative social, cultural, educational and professional advantages. By the same token, it is in the most remote and underserved areas that educational problems are more prominent, this being true for rural areas such as Luphisi.

### **5.2.2 Educational Spatial Inequality Explained by Location and Socioeconomic Status of Communities**

Marginally presented in the previous chapters, some children are more equal than others.

- Deracialization of the educational system has not effectively transformed education in a manner that equally benefits South African children.
- On the face of it, this approach has only allowed certain sections that feed into structural inequality to be removed but failed to deal with the actual structural problem in schools which includes the provision of necessary infrastructure and personnel.
- By the same token, South African space has not been dealt with radically, instead only certain laws were removed from the system. Structural and spatial inequalities remain ever present and social mobility becomes an idea for a considerable majority of the previously disadvantaged.

- Arguably, life chances are determined by birth location, race and socioeconomic standard. The implication is, the future of many children has nothing to do with ability, mobility and attitude, instead it has everything to do with conditions we have minimal power over.

### 5.2.3 Challenges Facing Reform in Spatial Educational Inequality

It is a multifaceted challenge. Corruption; incompetence and/or lack of effective oversight; blurred lines of responsibility and/or confusion re management of schools; intergovernmental conflict and/or lack of policy and institutional integration have all come to rationalise the persistent challenge of educational inequality between communities.

From the researchers point of view, this has somehow generated a culture of ‘them and us’ and it appears as though both the citizens at the receiving end as well as the government officials as the ‘source’ and/or ‘benefactor’ have little interest in resolving this challenge in view of the fact that it continues to enlarge the social distance between citizenry (largely categorised as black and white but increasingly class related). This is substantiated by Nkosi (2013) who said:

*“you know my sister the thing is the people living in the suburbs have more money they can improve themselves and those people are the ones that are listened to than us in the rural areas...I don’t know maybe they think it’s a rural area and we don’t really care because in neighbouring semi-rural areas like townships they have access to infrastructure” – [‘they’ referring to the government].*

This was in response to the question posed to her as both a member of the ward committee representing governance processes and a member of the disadvantaged Luthuli, asking what she thinks is the problem with regards to government transforming these educational inequalities embodied in space and socio-economic statuses of communities. From the governments’ side, the MMC also portrayed a sense of them and us – they need to carry their weight so we can do our part and besides, some things are beyond us, saying:

*...people do not have the passion to pay for what they want... and there is overcrowding caused by foreigners and they contribute to the backlog in service delivery ... and there is no strategy to accommodate them, even census leave them behind but they keep protesting for services but they don’t want to pay... they don’t want to pay.*

Confusion and the lack of coordination in policy and the different governmental branches. Field interviews shed light on the fact that dealing with informality – which in the context of this study is tightly linked to inequality in terms of planning – is at the mercy of different power configurations and both informality and power configurations remain a sticky issues. The municipality tiptoes in the spatial reconstruction and development of rural areas because of the present traditional authorities and over and above that, the ineffectiveness of government officials allows corruption to flourish at

the expense of equity and equality. There is also a need for better policy coordination and integration. The matter here is planners need to transform the societal prejudices experienced in the field of education in rural areas or any other sphere of development. Better still new policy that seeks to formalise rural areas will perhaps cause a stir in power conflicts between the municipality and the chiefs.

### **5.3 How Does Planning Mitigate the Problem Posed by Spatial Inequalities in Education**

The study has identified two interventions in a quest to address the problem posed by spatial inequalities in education: Communicative Planning as well as Strategic spatial planning. These approached complement one another in that they both advocate for collaboration of all affected and interested parties. Additionally, the strategic spatial planning approach enlarges the scope of intervention through noting its ability to act as a policy integrating tool that brings institutional role at the forefront of policy implementation as well as spatially strategizing the intervention.

#### **5.3.1 Communicative Planning**

Jürgen Habermas introduced the idea of Communicative rationality in 1983; this was done through his book *'The Theory of Communicative Action'* (Habermas, 1984; Reinstra and Hook, 2006; Sager, 2006). The introduction of the communicative rationality became an expansion of planning theory. Habermas's original approach is traced back to Hegelian idealism and Marxist critical analysis. Communicative planning theory focuses on using communication to help different interests in the process understand each other (Sager, 2006).

Communicative Planning Theory, also called Collaborative Planning Theory accentuates the need of communication in planning and it brought about the paradigm shift in the planning realm. It is a response to the burden of top-down planning and so it emphasizes the planner's role in mediating among the relevant stakeholders within the planning situation, moving away from an entirely one way process: from planner to politician and the public (Sager, 1994). This post-positivist approach embraces a social reformist point of view (Fainstein, 2000: 2). The true conviction of the principles of communicative planning theory emphasize the analyses of what planners do, not just as agents who act as instruments of the dominant interests but, as enablers of negotiation and collective decision making (Foley, 1997; Huxley, 2003).

#### **5.3.2 Communicative Planning in Luphisi**

The idea is that each individual will approach a conversation with his or her own subjective experience in mind and that from that conversation shared goals and possibilities will emerge. This seeks to include as a broad range of voices to enhance the debate and negotiation that is supposed to form the core of actual plan making. Participation is fundamental to the planning process

happening because without the involvement of concerned interests there is no planning (Sager, 2005). Inns and Booher (2004) proposes that participation should be understood as a multi-way set of interactions among different stakeholders of a society – so as to allow authentic dialogue, networks and institutional capacity to take centre stage. This has the ability to establish confidence in political systems. In this case all stakeholders including but not limited to the educational sector (management, teachers, the SGB) the municipality (planners, human settlements, urban and rural development) and the general public. Therefore, communicative planning contributes to deliberative democracy by opening up the process and welcomes all sincere arguments from involved parties (Ibid.).

The role of planners in this instance is to alert citizens to the issues of the day, inform them with technical and political information as well as encourage community-based planning actions (Hemmens and Stifte 1980; Sager 1994). This then requires the planners to work with the wide variety of views expressed by the diverse groups to formulate new consensus policies that might be widely supported (ibid.). Thus in order to maximize the effectiveness in this planning method, planners need to become effective communicators and negotiators. Thus planners have the power to transform the socioeconomic background by virtue of effective communication. This means that planners should be at the centre of the institutions contributing to spatial inequalities and so it is responsible for the collaboration of these institutions / policies. In doing this, planners would then seek to facilitate a bottom up approach which would benefit the people on the ground and in this instance the disadvantaged children in poor schools.

For example, with the confusion of Luphisi being under traditional administration as well as the municipality, planning would then become a mediator of these two distinct institutions as a custodian of the people. In agreement, Ngobeni (2013) believes that the absence of public dialogue takes away from the originality, purpose and success of the idea of rural development, insisting that:

...the problem with rural development initiatives is that it exists artificially. The different stakeholders of the community are not involved ... that is why it is difficult to implement practically ... and that is why the community is left behind in these rural development programmes (Ngobeni, 2013).

With regards to education Ngobeni's sentiments concur with those of Foser and Sheffield (2006) who state that the limited relevance of education is perhaps a more grave concern because counter-productive education has no positive impact. Tikly and Barrett (2011) put emphasis in the significance of context, and in providing a normative basis for quality because this allows a platform to re-conceptualise education quality and how it can be evaluated. In addition to this Ngobeni (2013) makes mention that:

... in order for education to achieve that ... it should be linked to the social and economic dynamics of that particular society. In order to promote relevant education in Luphisi, for example ... Luphisi is not an industrial society but agrarian, therefore education needs to enhance and promote environmental appreciation and tourism (Ngobeni, 2013).

Which better way to discover the values of a society apart from communication and participation? This approach challenges planners to study the context in which they plan and paves way for bottom-up methods of decision making. Communication facilitates the discussion of values and since values are not predetermined but rather established on the communicative processes – it gives those at the receiving end a voice and facilitates appropriateness which comprises an element of quality.

5.3.3 Power in Communicative Planning. Similar to almost all other theories, communicative planning has not escaped criticisms. While some scholars have simply been dismissive of communicate planning criticising the theory as utopian and ideal (Huxley, 2006), some critical scholars have somewhat admired some of the communicative theory's traits (also see Flyvbjerg, 1998; Lauria and Whelan 1995; Tewdwr-Jones, 1998). The premise of communicative planning is that it promotes spaces of communication and negotiation. This allows citizenry to assemble and discuss their collective affairs. This principle has however been criticised extensively through the lenses of power dynamics by the participating interest groups. Similar to several other scholars/authors, Huxley (2000) argues that Habermas (1983) made an important assumption that in these spaces of engagement there are no power dynamics so communicative planning has failed to address the issue of power in societies and spaces of public engagement (ibid.; Booher and Innes 2002).

However, Foucault disagrees with this stance arguing that the rural populace become docile bodies as a result of power struggles because to challenge the inequality of power relations is likely to be a continuous one. In spite of these developments/criticisms, communicative planning implies a fundamental change in the existing modes of governance and challenges the different stakeholders to share their power (Healey, 1993). The issue of power challenges planners as effective communicators and negotiators to comprehensively adapt to societies and grant the marginalised a voice so that needs can be met appropriately. This will enable rural people not to remain as the submissive bodies described by Foucault but as active agents who negotiate social forces of power. The onus rests with the ability of planners as the 'driver' of the planning vehicle to develop skills of engagement and negotiation.

Healey (1997) emphasises the need to manage the “co-existence in shared spaces”. She stresses the importance of relationships, particularly through not only overcoming communication barriers but also recognizing and acknowledging the legitimacy of others and their concerns. It is about social trust. Social trust is gained only when the individual or institution in a social relationship is judged to be reasonably competent in its actions over time. It provides a lens for examining behaviours. Incompetent fraudulent leaders are at a better position of being disqualified, because communicative planning is not limited to creating plans, making decisions, and solving problems – the *objects* of planning however – it is also about the *subjects* of planning - the decision makers, the implementers, the people affected by the decision or plan and/or beneficiaries, and the planners and public officials/benefactor – and their relationship. In this regard, substance, process and relationships are intertwined.

#### **5.3.4 Strategic Spatial Planning Complements Communicative Theory**

Many authors are of the opinion that in the world of planning the notion of a blanket definition for the terms strategy and strategic is both impossible and inappropriate and as a consequence the definition for strategic spatial planning is ambiguous and somewhat impossible (see Rowe and Davies, 2010; Albrechts, 2006). However, some authors elect to define this approach embracing its diversity and/or multiplicity in its components (Satario, 2005; Albrechts, 2006; Kunzmann, 2000; Sartorio, 2005; Healey, 2006). Faludi and Salet (2000) identify three strategic planning approaches that can be distinguished, primarily as a result of various governmental frameworks. Those are: (1) institutional approach, (2) communicative or “discursive” approach, and (3) interactive approach to planning. Thus strategic spatial planning is a policy integrating tool that brings institutional role at the forefront of policy implementation.

It is a suitable approach for the remedy of structural inequality in education because according to Gedikli (2010) strategic planning practices display two constants: (1) a multi-actor (or participatory) planning process and (2) a multi-dimensional (or multi-sectoral) plan. Multi-actor approach which paves way for important relevant participants to assemble, discuss the difficulties, weaknesses, strengths and, potentials of their locality and “formulate a share division, strategies and projects for multiple sectors” (Ibid.: 281). It is important to note that this planning approach includes methods and techniques understood and (re)interpreted in diverse ways due to specific legislative, economic, administrative and social backgrounds of planning systems of different countries – diversity is increased considering the different localities in the same country.

In view of the fragmented educational system in spatial terms, strategic spatial planning becomes an appropriate approach in addressing the lagging educational status in rural Luphisi because complementary to communicative planning it will bring all stakeholders together and strategically



resolve matters. This is enabled by communicating the differing public perspectives and ideas, policies and conceptions of the matter at hand. The approach seeks to broaden the scope and enhance the governance capacity of spatial planning in practice (Healey et al., 1997; Albrechts et al., 2003). Strategic spatial planning identifies and gathers major actors in relation to the matter at hand – in this regard enablers of quality education. It allows for a broad multi-level governance and diverse involvement encompassing public, economic, civil society, during the planning process (Sartario, 2005). It takes into account the political, economic, gender and cultural which are structures of power and, also the uncertainties and competing values (Kunzmann, 2000; Albrechts, 2004). For Faludi (2000) the purpose of strategic planning is to inform decision-making in practice, rather than to directly influence material outcomes of planning such as the object of project plans. Strategic spatial planning takes into account the subject of planning – “process matters” (Healey, 1993). As a result, Allin and Walsh (2012: 3) remark that, “the concept of strategic spatial planning places emphasis on the development of coordinated or integrated perspectives that transcend traditional sectoral policy divisions through a specific focus on the spatial impacts of sectoral policies”.

The characteristics of this approach in planning are in agreement with those of communicative planning in emphasising the need to join forces with other stakeholders / institutions. This is very important for a situation like structural inequalities in the distribution of resourced schools by virtue of the fact that several stakeholders contribute to this phenomenon and in turn numerous aspects of society are affected. For instance, in this case this would allow the traditional authority, municipality, education in all spheres, labour, government, community and learners to communicate the problems encountered. Perhaps this would even allow discussions about implicit ideologies that need to be dealt with radically.

### **5.3.5 Strategic Spatial Planning in Space**

In the 1990s a strategic approach to the organization of space at different levels of scale became more prevalent. As previously established that the solutions to complex problems depend on the ability to communicate as we as combine the creation of strategic visions with short-term actions. Albrechts (2004) states that the creation of strategic visions implies the design of shared futures, and the development and promotion of common possessions/properties. Albrechts believes that all of this requires accountability, a budgetary framework and the creation of awareness for the systems of power. It also enables the development of strategic planning capacity in which the stakeholders are becoming more actively involved in the planning process on the basis of a joint definition of the action situation and of the sharing of interests, aims, and relevant knowledge. As there is no `one

best single way' to do strategic planning the purpose is to add a new dimension in the planning approach and process – introduce formal planning, land-use planning in the informal Lumphasi.

Land-use planning is basically concerned with the integration and qualitative ways of developing the location and form as well as the harmonization of land development required for the various space-using functions. These include housing, recreation, transport, education, and agriculture. A land-use plan embodies a proposal as to how land should be used in accordance with a considered policy as expansion and restructuring proceed in the future. Land-use regulation helps to steer developments in a certain direction. In this way the land-use plan ensures that undesirable developments do not occur and with the communicative planning approach it will ensure that desirable developments actually take place where and when they are needed. Strategic spatial planning designs plan-making structures and develops frameworks for influencing and managing spatial change as well the necessity to construct a longer-term vision (Kunzmann, 2000; see also Wildavsky, 1973). This generates and facilitates ways of understanding; ways of building agreements; and ways of organizing and mobilizing for the purpose of exerting influence in different fields (Albrechts, 1999). Although rural spaces are not as diverse as urban spaces, the multiplicity of the process paves way towards planning appropriately through the involvement of relevant stakeholders. This also facilitates the process of strategizing through agreeing on priorities, it allows fairness and ensures accountability. The rural residents then become active citizens not passive beneficiaries while the government official becomes transparent and accountable.

#### **5.3.6 Lumphasi after Communication Planning**

Although it may take some time for the people of Lumphasi to be well synchronised with this proposed process of planning, it is hoped that their participation, of course with the help of awareness from planners, will help develop what the people of Lumphasi need and want.

The ideal outcome in communicative planning is to open up doors of participation and transparency by enabling all interested and affected groups to have a voice and participate in matters that directly affect their lives. Beyond the bottom-up approach of governance, this model allows for a consolidated developmental approach in that a wide variety of subjective views will be considered in formulating new consensus policies. In the case of Lumphasi, communicative planning is hoped to enable effective service delivery. Planned human settlements allow collective development.

Furthermore, the strategic spatial planning approach is hoped to all for more pressing needs to be addressed first in consensus and this to be done via a land-use – spatially focused – plan. Economic decisions have a spatial impact and that spatial location and spatial physical interventions have an economic impact. Therefore the implications and causalities of land-use planning in Lumphasi by

planners have the potential to reach economists and state policy-makers. Strategic spatial planning in Luthuli has the potential to not only address the structural inequality in education within Luthuli but, this can trigger overspill in neighbouring areas as well as improve the economic standard of these areas.

#### **5.4 Concluding Commentary...**

The persistent structural inequality in education and the distribution of resourced schools with essential education facilities and infrastructure that enables ideal environments of learning remain an embodiment of the prejudiced and/or fascist regime of apartheid. Mbombela Local Municipality is a relatively young developing government that plays a major role in the overall growth of South Africa. The municipality however, is plagued spatial inequality which continues to expand the social distance of its residents and/or citizenry. As the capital city of Mpumalanga province, a bridge between the economic heartbeat of South Africa and neighbouring countries, especially Maputo – a port city – and an address to countless tourists due to its richness in biodiversity and natural mountainous landscapes, the municipality has obtained a recognisable brand than neighbouring municipalities. The municipality has also captured a great deal of attention from scandalous events that have transpired in the field of education and government/municipal processes of governance – both under the umbrella of corruption/fraud/embezzlement of funds.

Spatial inequality has continually characterised the relationship between the town of Mbombela and the neighbouring peri-urban (urban/rural divide) and between townships/peri-urban areas and rural/villages (intra spatial inequalities). This socioeconomic spatial inequality is also an indication of unequal schooling experiences. This contributes in telling the story of an ineffective local government as well as lack of policy coordination that seeks to bring together the rural and the urban – in all aspects. This also brings forth the lacking ability of government officials. Moreover, these challenges are inseparable from politics, political interests and power conflicts. The most influential stakeholders in the distribution of resourced schools and management of education in rural areas are the municipality and the traditional authorities. This has caused confusion, left ample for corruption and mismanagement as well as concerns over the possibility of formalising of rural areas and allowing the introduction of spatial planning – which comprises benefits sensitive to equity and equality, the environment, the economy, politics and long term planning. In light of the fact that in these spaces carry with them different levels of educational performance and life chances as well as the fact that in South Africa educational inequality is a political historical injustice to the black race, the disparities are a matter of political importance.

Spatial dichotomies are a significant concern for the planning profession. Planners are responsible for creating sustainable, viable, and just human settlements. To achieve this planners are a mediator between the state and the citizenry, balancing the economic needs of the state with the socioeconomic needs of the public as well as the politics between the two realms. Therefore communicative planning allows the planner to bring together these two groups of society so as to negotiate and arrive at an all-inclusive decision – giving a voice to the poor and vulnerable in society. Moreover, this allows planners to elevate the subject of planning over the object of planning – emphasising context and process as a means to mitigate societal conflicts over inequality – which has an element of power.

To effectively address the inequality in space and to address this in a futuristic manner that is responsive to context; the strategic spatial planning is key. Strategic spatial planning encourages multi actor, multi-dimensional/sectoral and communication/participation promoting authentic dialogue that in turn allows for accountability. Planners need to question and challenge institutional failure in instances where the poor and the vulnerable are not heard with regards to the spatial organisation of their communities. Planners need to initiate spaces of communication and seek to coordinate policy so as to allow effective planning – planning that is inclusive of ‘forgotten areas’/ or areas of high political power conflict. Although rural spaces are not as diverse as urban spaces, the multiplicity of the process facilitates planning appropriately through the involvement of relevant stakeholders. This also facilitates the process of strategizing through agreeing on priorities.

# INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

## Learners

### 1. Background Information

Gender (F/M)	Age	Where is Home?

### 2. Who do you live with?

	Number	Comments
Grandparents		
Parents		
Relatives		
Siblings		
Other		

### 3. What is their educational background?

		Comments
None		
Primary		
Secondary		
Matric		
Certificate		
Diploma/Degree		
Postgraduate		

### 4. How many schools are close to your home? .....

5. Why did you enrol in this school?

.....

.....

6. How is this school different from other schools in the area?.....

.....

.....

7. How is your school different from urban schools?.....

.....

.....

8. What would make you leave this school?.....

.....

.....

9. How do you get to school?

	How long does it take?	Is it safe?	Are you concerned about safety? Why?	How does that affect you at school?
Walk				
Bus				
Taxi				
Othe				

10. Has there been any kind of violation happening to learners who walk that you know of?  
Explain

.....

11. What kind of books do you read?

		How often to do you read? Two weeks/ Monthly/ Yearly/ Have not read in over a year.
Curriculum required		
Interest		
Magazines/Newspapers		
Other		

12. Do you have any access to these facilities

	Y/N	Have you had access to these facilities before in this school?	Do neighbouring schools have these facilities?	Why do you think they have/don't have?
Laboratory				
Library				
Computer				
Sporting Facilities (ie. Soccer field, tennis court, etc)				
Hall (ie. Assembly)				

1. How does the lack of these facilities affect your school

work?.....  
 .....  
 .....

2. Do you have access to these facilities?

	What kind?	Clean?	Safe?	Enough?	How you feel about these facilities?

Toilets					
Drinking water					

14. What do you think of your school?

Infrastructure	
Teachers	
Resources	

15. Are there activities close to your school that affect your schooling, such as taverns, shops, etc?

.....  
.....  
.....

16. How far is the clinic and police station from here?.....

.....

17. What other difficulties do you encounter with regards to achieving what you wish for in education?

.....  
.....  
.....



18. Do you think you are receiving a low standard of education? Why?

.....

.....

.....

19. Do you think education is linked to finding employment?

.....

.....

20. Has there been any improvement in terms of resources and/or infrastructure over the years?

.....

.....

21. How?

.....

.....

### Principal

1. When was this school built? .....
2. How many schools are in proximity to this school? .....
3. What was the main purpose of building this school? .....
4. Why was it located  
here? .....  
.....
5. Why did you join this school?  
.....  
.....
6. What would make you leave this school?  
.....  
.....
7. How is this school different from other schools in the area?  
.....  
.....
8. How is your school different from urban schools?  
.....  
.....
9. How do you get to school?

	How long does it take?	Is it safe?	Are you concerned about safety? Why?	How does that affect you at school?
Walk				
Bus				
Taxi				
Other				

--	--	--	--	--

10. Has there been any kind of violation happening to learners who walk that you know of?

.....  
 .....

21. Do you have any access to these facilities

	Y/N	Have you had access to these facilities before in this school?	Do neighbouring schools have these facilities?	Why do you think they have/don't have?
Laboratory				
Library				
Computer				
Sporting Facilities (ie. Soccer field, tennis court, etc)				
Hall (ie. Assembly)				

1. How does the lack of these facilities affect your school work?

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

22. Do you have access to these facilities?

	What kind?	Clean?	Safe?	Enough?	How you feel about these facilities?
Toilets					

Drinking water					

11. How the lacks of other educational and sanitation infrastructure affect schooling outcomes?

.....

.....

12. Why do you think are the challenges/causes facing the distribution of these facilities?

.....

.....

13. Are the classrooms enough? Why?

.....

.....

14. Has there been any improvement in terms of resources and/or infrastructure over the years?

.....

.....

.....

15. When last was the school renovated?

.....

.....

16. Are you satisfied with how it is today? Why?

.....

.....

17. Are there activities close to your school that affect your schooling? Eg.

Taverns .....  
.....

18. How far is the clinic and police station from here?

.....  
.....

19. Why do you think apartheid education was structured the way it was?

.....  
.....

20. How did that affect you?

.....  
.....

21. How is education important in post-apartheid rural South Africa?

.....  
.....

22. Do you see education as an avenue towards equality?

.....  
.....

23. How does access to education reduce inequalities?

.....  
.....

**Ward Councillor/Mayor**

1. What is your role in this area and/or municipality?  
.....  
.....
2. How do you influence or shape development of this area?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
3. Being in a rural area, what are the main schooling challenges faced by the community of Luphisi?  
.....  
.....  
.....
4. Are the meetings/gatherings that such issues are discussed?  
.....  
.....
5. How often? Does the community of Luphisi participate in these gatherings? Are the gatherings effective in terms of addressing issues raised?  
.....  
.....
6. Do you have the power to discuss such difficulties with the relevant people in government and negotiate strategies to address them?  
.....  
.....
7. What do you think are the challenges/causes facing the distribution of these facilities? .....  
.....
8. Has there been any improvement in terms of schooling resources and/or infrastructure over the years? .....  
.....  
.....

9. How did apartheid education affect you?

.....  
.....

10. How is education important in post-apartheid rural South Africa?

.....  
.....  
.....

11. Do you see education as an avenue towards equality?

.....  
.....  
.....

12. How does access to education reduce inequalities?

.....  
.....  
.....

### **Town and Regional Planner/Spatial Planner**

1. How is rural development defined from your point of view of a planner?  
.....  
.....  
.....
2. How is planning related to rural development?  
.....  
.....  
.....
3. What is your role in terms of rural development?  
.....  
.....  
.....
4. How does this view tie to rural education?  
.....  
.....  
.....
5. Does your spatial development framework involve rural spatial planning?  
.....  
.....  
.....
6. How does it facilitate rural development?  
.....  
.....  
.....
7. How does it facilitate the development of Luphisi?  
.....  
.....  
.....
8. How does planning address service delivery issues in Luphisi?  
.....  
.....  
.....
9. How does the SDF take into consideration issues of spatial service delivery in Luphisi?  
.....



.....  
.....  
10. What kind of land-use planning and management for rural areas exist for Luphisi? Why?

.....  
.....  
.....  
11. How is planning integrated with other policies for rural development in that Luphisi?

.....  
.....  
.....  
12. How is planning involved in the distribution of schools in the Luphisi area? .....

.....  
.....  
.....  
13. What are the challenges that face planning in the rural areas?

.....  
.....  
.....  
14. What are the challenges that face planning in the Luphisi area?

.....  
.....  
.....  
15. How have post-apartheid planning approaches transformed rural areas like Luphisi?

.....  
.....  
.....  
16. What new methods of planning has the municipality adopted for that area?

1. How does the role of development planning seek to develop the Luphisi area? .....  
.....  
.....
2. How is it inclined towards rural development? .....  
.....  
.....
3. How does it incorporate development initiatives for Luphisi? .....  
.....  
.....
4. Is development planning a politicised process? .....  
.....  
.....
5. Why and how is it politicised in Luhpisi? .....  
.....  
.....
6. What are the challenges facing the development of the Luhpisi area? .....  
.....  
.....
7. What are the most important spatial inequalities between rural and urban? (the kind of disparities that hinder development) .....  
.....  
.....
8. How does development planning seek to address these disparities? .....  
.....  
.....

9. On that note, what does the area in question need in order to address these spatial inequalities?

.....

.....

.....

10. How is development planning integrated with other policies?

.....

.....

.....

11. Is development planning integrated with service delivery policies/strategies?

.....

.....

.....

12. How is access to education dealt with in rural areas?

.....

.....

.....

13. How is access to education dealt with in the case of Lumphasi?

.....

.....

.....

### Researcher/Facilitator of Participation in Service Delivery

1. What does rural development involve in your portfolio?  
.....  
.....  
.....
2. What does rural development involve in your portfolio with regards to the area of Luphisi?  
.....  
.....  
.....
3. How is education important for rural development?  
.....  
.....  
.....
4. How is education important for the development of that specific area?  
.....  
.....  
.....
5. What are the standards of quality education? .....  
.....  
.....
6. Are these standards implemented in the area in question? Why do you think that?  
.....  
.....  
.....
7. How is service delivery important for that development of that area?  
.....  
.....  
.....
8. How is governance inclined towards scaling up service delivery of Luphisi?  
.....  
.....  
.....
9. How participation is ensured in rural development strategies? (Luphisi)  
.....

.....  
.....  
10. Who are the stakeholders involved in ensuring service delivery?

.....  
.....  
.....  
11. Does planning play a role in facilitating service delivery? How? In the case of Lumphasi?

## Inspector of Education in that community

1. What does rural development involve in your portfolio?

.....

.....

.....

2. What are the standards of quality education?

.....

.....

.....

3. Are these standards implemented in  
Luphisi? .....

.....

.....

4. Why do you think that?

.....

.....

.....

5. How is rural development linked towards access to quality education?

.....

.....

.....

6. How is planning integrated with the delivery of this service? Why?

.....

.....

.....

7. How is spatial planning taken into consideration with regards to

Distribution/Layout	
Access	
Infrastructure	

Facilities/Resource Mapping	

8. What is the process of locating a school?

.....

.....

.....

9. What factors are put into consideration when locating a school?

.....

.....

.....

10. And in the area in question how is it done?

.....

.....

.....

11. Have there been new schools built in Luphisi? Why?

.....

.....

.....

12. What are the challenges facing the distribution of educational facilities in rural areas?

.....

.....

.....

13. What other policies are linked to ensuring access to quality education?

.....

.....

.....

14. Who are the main stakeholders involved? Why?

.....

.....

.....

15. Is there a follow up on future developments around the school? By whom?

.....

.....

.....



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